THE

HISTORY

OF

ANCIENT GREECE,

ITS COLONIES, AND CONQUESTS;

From the earlieſt Accounts till the

Diviſion of the Macedonian Empire in the Eaſt.

INCLUDING THE HISTORY OF

LITERATURE, PHILOSOPHY, AND THE FINE ARTS.

By JOHN GILLIES, LL.D.
F.R.S. AND A.S. LONDON, F.R.S. EDINBURGH,
AND HISTORIOGRAPHER TO HIS MAJESTY FOR SCOTLAND.

Ἐκ μεν τοιγε της ἁπαντων προς αλληλα συμπλοκης και παραθεσεως, ετι δε ὁμοιοτητος και διαφορας, μονως αν τις εφικοιτο και δυνηθειη κατοπτευσας, ἁμα και το χρησιμον και το τερπνον εκ της ἱστοριας λαβειν. POLYBIUS, l.i. c. v.

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CONTENTS

OF

THE FOURTH VOLUME.

CHAP. XXXIII.

History of Macedon.—Reign of Archelaus.—Series of Uſurpations and Revolutions.—Perdiccas defeated by the Illyrians.—Diſtracted State of Macedon.—Firſt Tranſactions of Philip.—State of Thrace and Pæonia.—Philip defeats Argæus and the Athenians.—His Treatment of the Priſoners.—His military Arrangements.—He defeats the Illyrians.—His Deſigns againſt Amphipolis.—He prevents an Alliance between Athens and Olynthus.—Amuſes the Athenians.—Takes Amphipolis.—His Conqueſts in Thrace.—The Mines of Crenidæ.—Philip marries Olympias.—His Letter to Ariſtotle. Page 1

CHAP. XXXIV.

Philip's Proſperity.—Imprudent Meaſures of the Amphictyonic Council.—The Phocian, or Sacred War.—Philomelus ſeizes the Temple of Delphi.—Takes the Field againſt the Thebans and their

Allies. — *Defeat and Death of Philomelus.* — *Affairs of Thrace, Macedon, and Attica.* — *Onemarchus takes the Command of the Phocians.* — *Encounters Philip in Theſſaly.* — *He is defeated and ſlain.* — *Philip's Deſigns againſt Olynthus and Byzantium.* — *Traverſed by the Athenians.* — *Phayllus takes the Command of the Phocians.* — *Philip marches towards Thermopylæ.* — *Anticipated by the Athenians.* — *Demoſthenes's firſt Philippic.* — *Philip's Occupations at Pella.* — *His Vices* — *and Policy.* - - Page 40

CHAP. XXXV.

Negligence and Licentiouſneſs of the Athenians. — *Philip's Intrigues in Eubœa.* — *Phocion defeats the Macedonians and Eubœans.* — *Philip invades the Olynthian Territory.* — *Demoſthenes's Orations in favour of the Olynthians.* — *Expedition of Chares.* — *Philip takes Olynthus.* — *Celebrates the Feſtival of the Muſes at Dium.* — *Commits naval Depredations on Attica.* — *His Embaſſy to Athens.* — *The Athenian Embaſſy to Philip.* — *Character of the Ambaſſadors.* — *Their Conference with the King.* — *Differently reported to the Senate and Aſſembly.* — *Philip's Conqueſts in Thrace.* — *The Phocian War.* — *Negotiations.* — *Philip's Intrigues.* — *Decree of the Amphictyons againſt Phocis.* — *Executed by Philip.* — *Macedon acknowledged the principal Member of the Amphictyonic Council.* - - 74

CONTENTS.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Foundation of Philippopolis and Cabyla. — Philip's Expedition to Illyria. — Alexander receives the Perſian Ambaſſadors. — Affairs of Greece. — Demoſthenes unmaſks the Deſigns of Philip's Expeditions to the Peloponneſus — to Epirus — to Thrace. — Diopeithes oppoſes him with Vigour. — The Athenians recover Eubœa. — Siege of Perinthus. — Philip's Letter to the Athenians. — Expeditions of Chares — of Phocion — who retrieves the Athenian Affairs in Thrace. — Philip's Scythian Expedition. — The Incendiary Antiphon. — Philip's Intrigues embroil the Affairs of Greece. — The third Sacred War. — Philip General of the Amphictyons. — Confederacy againſt that Prince. — He ſeizes Elatæa. — Battle of Chæronæa. — His Moderation in Victory. — Demoſthenes's Oration in Honour of the Slain. - - Page 146

CHAP. XXXVII.

Liberal Spirit of the Macedonian Government. — Philip appointed General of the Greeks. — Rebellion of Illyria. — Aſſaſſination of Philip. — His Character. — Acceſſion of Alexander. — His Expedition againſt the Illyrians and Triballi. — He paſſes the Danube. — Rebellion in Greece. — Deſtruction of Thebes. — Heroiſm of Timoclea. — Alexander croſſes the Helleſpont. — State of the Perſian Empire. — Battle of the Granicus. —

Siege of Miletus and Halicarnassus. — Bold Adventure of two Macedonian Soldiers. — Alexander's judicious Plan of War. — Arts by which he secured his Conquests. — The battle of Issus. — The Virtues of Alexander expand with his Prosperity. - - Page 231

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Siege of Tyre. — Desperate Resistance of Gaza. — Easy Conquest of Egypt. — Foundation of Alexandria. — Alexander visits the Temple of Jupiter Ammon. — Marches into Assyria. — Battle of Gaugamela. — Darius betrayed and slain. — Alexander pursues the Murderers of Darius. — His Bactrian and Scythian Warfare. — Siege of the Sogdian Fortress. — Surrender of Choricnes. — Commotions in Greece — Checked by Antipater. — The Cause of Ctesiphon and Demosthenes. — Æschines banished. — State of Greece during Alexander's Reign. - - - - 291

CHAP. XXXIX.

Alexander's Indian Expedition. — Route pursued by the Army. — Aornos taken. — Nysa and Mount Meros. — Alexander passes the Indus and Hydaspes. — Defeats Porus. — Founds Nicæa and Bucephalia. — Passes the Acesines and Hydraotes. — Sangala taken. — Eastern Boundary of Alexander's Conquests. — He sails down the Hydaspes. — Takes the Mallian fortress. — His march through the Gedrosian

Gedrosian Desert. — Voyage of Nearchus. — Alexander improves the internal State of his Conquests. — Incorporates the Barbarian Levies with the Greeks and Macedonians. — Intermarriages of the Europeans and Asiatics. — Artifices to prevent Alexander's Return to Babylon. — His Death, and Character. — Division of his Conquests. — Subsequent History of Egypt and Syria. — The Western Division of Alexander's Empire conquered by the Romans. — State of Greece after the Age of Alexander. - - - Page 339

CHAP. XL.

State of Literature in the Age of Alexander. — Poetry — Music — Arts of Design — Geography — Astronomy — Natural History. — Works of Aristotle. — Philosophical Sects established at Athens. — Decline of Genius. — Tenets of the different Sects. — Peripatetic Philosophy. — Estimate of that Philosophy. — Its Fate in the World. — Coincidence in the Opinions of Zeno and Epicurus. — The Stoic Philosophy. — Estimate of that Philosophy. — The Epicurean Philosophy. — Character of Epicurus. — Philosophy of Pyrrho. — Conclusion. 402

THE

HISTORY

OF

ANCIENT GREECE.

CHAP. XXXIII.

History of Macedon.—Reign of Archelaus.—Series of Usurpations and Revolutions.—Perdiccas defeated by the Illyrians.—Distracted State of Macedon.—First Transactions of Philip.—State of Thrace and Pæonia.—Philip defeats Argæus and the Athenians.—His Treatment of the Prisoners.—His military Arrangements.—He defeats the Illyrians.—His Designs against Amphipolis.—He prevents an Alliance between Athens and Olynthus.—Amuses the Athenians.—Takes Amphipolis.—His Conquests in Thrace.—The Mines of Crenidæ.—Philip marries Olympias.—His Letter to Aristotle.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The kingdom of Macedon founded by by Caranus. A. C. 814.

FOUR hundred and sixteen years before the Christian æra, and little more than half a century before Philip assumed the government of Macedon, that country, to a superficial observer, might have appeared scarcely distinguishable

CHAP. XXXIII.

able from the barbarous kingdoms of Thrace, Peonia, and Illyricum, which ſurrounded it on the north, eaſt, and weſt. Towards the ſouth, it was excluded from the ſea by a chain of Grecian republics, of which Olynthus and Amphipolis were the moſt flouriſhing and powerful. To this inland diſtrict, originally confined to the circumference of about three hundred miles, Caranus, an Argive prince of the numerous race of Hercules, eluding the dangers which proved fatal to royalty [1] in moſt communities of Greece [2], conducted a ſmall colony of his adventurous and warlike countrymen, and, having conquered the barbarous natives, ſettled in Edeſſa, the capital of the province then named Emathia, and afterwards Macedonia, for reaſons equally unknown [3]. The eſtabliſhment of this little principality, which, under Philip, grew into a powerful kingdom, and, under Alexander, ſwelled into the moſt extenſive empire known in the ancient world, was adorned (could we believe hiſtoric flattery) by many extraordinary circumſtances, preſaging its future greatneſs. The gods took care of the infancy of Macedon, and ſent, as oracles had announced, a herd of goats to conduct Caranus to his new capital of Edeſſa, which thence changed its name to Aegæ, the city of goats; a fiction unworthy of record, did it not explain the reaſon why goats were adopted as the enſigns of Macedon, and why figures of thoſe

[1] Juſtin. l. vii. c. i. Velleius Paterculus, l. i. c. vi.
[2] See vol. i. p. 105. [3] Crophius Antiquit. Macedon.

animals

animals are ſtill to be ſeen on the coins of Philip, and thoſe of his ſucceſſors.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Prudent conduct of its firſt kings the primary cauſe of the greatneſs of Macedon.

Caranus, as well as the princes Cœnus [4] and Thyrimas, who immediately followed him, had occaſion to exerciſe their prudence not leſs than their valour. Their feeble colony of Greeks might have fallen an eaſy prey to the unhoſpitable ferocity of the fierce tribes, by whom it was on all ſides ſurrounded. But the policy of the firſt kings of Macedon, inſtead of vainly attempting to repel or to ſubdue, endeavoured, with more ſucceſs, to gain, by good offices, the ancient inhabitants of Emathia and the neighbouring diſtricts. They communicated to them the knowledge of many uſeful [5] arts; they gave them the Grecian religion [6] and government [7] in that ſtate of happy ſimplicity which prevailed during the heroic ages; and while, to render intercourſe more eaſy and familiar, they adopted, in ſome degree, the language and manners of the barbarous natives, they in their turn imparted to the latter a tincture of the Grecian language and civility [8]. By this judicious and liberal ſyſtem, ſo unlike to that purſued by their countrymen in other parts of the world, the followers of Caranus gra-

[4] Juſtin. ubi ſupra, Syncell. Chronic.

[5] Pauſanias Achaic. & Thucydid. l. ii.

[6] Arrian. Exped. Alexand. l. iv. p. 83.

[7] Φιλιππου μεν παιδι, Ηρακλειδῃ δε απο γενους, ὁτου οἱ προγονοι εξ Αργεος εις Μακεδονιαν ηλθον, ουδε βιᾳ αλλα νομῳ, Μακεδονων αρχοντες διετελεσαν. Arrian, l. iv. p. 86. In another paſſage of the ſame book he ſays, the ſubjects of Macedon had more liberty than the citizens of Greece.

[8] Demoſthenes, Arrian, and Curtius.

CHAP. XXXIII.

dually associated with the warlike tribes in their neighbourhood, whom it would have been alike impossible for them to extirpate or to enslave; and the same generous policy, being embraced by their descendants, deserves to be regarded as the primary cause of Macedonian greatness.

Transactions of the Macedonians preceding the reign of Archelaus I. A. C. 713—416.

Perdiccas, the first of that name, so far eclipsed the fame of his three predecessors, that he is accounted the founder of the monarchy by Herodotus [9] and Thucydides [10]. His history has been magnified by fable, which has also obscured or distorted the actions of the five princes [11] that intervened between him and Alexander I. who filled the Macedonian throne when Xerxes invaded Greece [12]. Here we attain historic ground. Alexander, as related above [13], acted an important and honourable part in the affairs of Greece and Persia, without neglecting the interest of his own kingdom, which he extended to the river Nessus on the east, and to the Axius on the west. His son, Perdiccas II., inherited the abilities of his father, without imitating his integrity. During the Peloponnesian war, the alliance of this prince formed an object of important concern to the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. He espoused the cause of the latter, which he regarded as his own, because the Athenians, who had occasionally levied tribute on his

[9] Herodot. l. viii. c. cxxxvii. [10] Thucydid. l. ii. p. 168.
[11] Argeaus I. Philip. I. Æropus I. Alcetes, Amyntas I. Justin. l. vii. c. ii.
[12] Herodot. l. v. c. xix. [13] Vol. i. p. 487.

ancestors

CHAP. XXXIII.

anceſtors [14], were then maſters of the Greek ſettlements along the northern coaſt of the Ægæan, the vicinity of which naturally tempted the ambition of Perdiccas. Under the ſpecious pretence of enabling Olynthus and the other cities of Chalcidice to recover their independence, he lent his aid to deſtroy the Athenian influence there, expecting to eſtabliſh the Macedonian in its ſtead. But this deſign failed of ſucceſs. The Olynthian confederacy was broken, its members became ſubject to Sparta, and after the misfortunes of that republic had encouraged the Olynthians to reſume their freedom, they felt themſelves ſufficiently powerful not only to reſiſt the encroachments of Macedon, but to make conſiderable conqueſts in that country [15].

The ſtate of Macedon greatly improved by that prince. A. C. 416—410.

Archelaus I., who ſucceeded to the throne, diſplayed an enlightened policy, far more beneficial to his kingdom than the courage of Alexander, or the craft of Perdiccas. Like thoſe princes, Archelaus was ambitious to enlarge his dominions, (having conquered Pydna and other towns in the delightful region of Pieria [16]) but his main care was to cultivate and improve them. He facilitated communication among the principal cities of Macedon, by cutting ſtraight roads through moſt parts of the country; he built walls and places of ſtrength in the ſituations moſt favourable for that purpoſe; encouraged agriculture and the arts, particularly thoſe ſubſervient to war; formed magazines of

[14] Thucydid. ubi ſupra, et Demoſthenes paſſim.
[15] See above, vol. iii. c. xxix. p. 320, et ſeqq.
[16] Diodor. Sicul. l. xiii. c. xvi.

CHAP. XXXIII.

arms; raised and disciplined a considerable body of cavalry; and, in a word, added more to the solid grandeur of Macedon than had been done by his eight predecessors collectively [17]. Nor was he regardless of the arts of peace. His palace was adorned by the works of Grecian painters. Euripides was long entertained at his court; Socrates was earnestly solicited to live there after the example of this philosophic poet, formed by his precepts, and cherished by his friendship: men of merit and genius, in all the various walks of literature and science, were invited to reside in Macedon, and treated with distinguished regard by a monarch duly attentive to promote his own glory and the happiness of his subjects [18].

Series of usurpations and revolutions. A. C. 405—360.

A reign of six years was too short a period for accomplishing the important ends which Archelaus had in view. By his death the prosperity of Macedon was interrupted for almost half a century, crowded by a succession of ten [19] princes or usurpers,

[17] Thucydides says, "than the eight kings who preceded him," counting Perdiccas for the first. Αρχελαος ὁ Περδικκου υἱος, Βασιλευς γενομενος τα τειχη νυν οντα εν τῃ χωρᾳ ωκοδομησε και, ὁδους ευθειας ετεμε, καὶ ταλλα διεκοσμησε τατε κατα τον πολεμον ἱπποις, καὶ ὁπλοις καὶ τῃ αλλῃ παρασκευῃ κρεισσονι ἢ ξυμπαντες οἱ αλλοι Βασιλεις οκτω οἱ προ αυτου γενομενοι. Thucydides, p. 168.

[18] Aristot. Rhetor. l. ii. c. xxix. Stobæus Sermon. 237.

[19] Their names, with the dates of their accession or usurpation, are as follows:

1	Orestes.	A. C. 405	6	Argæus II.	A. C. 385
2	Æropus II.	402		Amyntas again re-established - -	383
3	Archelaus II.	394	7	Alexander II. - -	372
4	Amyntas II.	392	8	Perdiccas III - -	371
5	Pausanias,	391	9	Ptolemy. - -	370
	Amyntas II.	390			

Perdiccas

whoſe hiſtory forms a perpetual ſeries of crimes and calamities. Amidſt theſe diſorders, the ſceptre ſtill remained in the family of Hercules; but almoſt every prince of the blood had an ambition to reign. In order to attain their purpoſe, the different competitors courted the aſſiſtance of the Thracians, of the Illyrians, of the Theſſalians, of the Olynthian confederacy, of Athens, of Sparta, and of Thebes; and each of thoſe powers endeavoured to turn to their own immediate profit the diſſenſions in Macedon. Bardyllis, an active and daring chief, who by his abilities in acquiring, and his equity[20] in dividing the ſpoil, had riſen from the condition of a private robber to the command of the Illyrian tribes, entered Macedon at the head of a numerous army, diſpoſſeſſed Amyntas II. the father of Philip, and placed Argæus on the throne, who conſented to become the tributary of his benefactor[21]. The Thracians ſupported the title of another prince named Pauſanias: but the aſſiſtance of Theſſaly and Olynthus enabled Amyntas to reſume the government; the Olynthians refuſing, however, to ſurrender ſeveral places of importance which Amyntas had entruſted to their protection, or which they had conquered from his competitor. Amyntas complained to Sparta; and that republic, for reaſons above[22] related, declared war againſt

CHAP. XXXIII.

A. C. 385.

A. C. 383.

Perdiccas,	A. C. 368.	to Amyntas,	A. C. 360.
Ptolemy,	367.	To him Philip ſucceeded in the	
Perdiccas,	365.	ſame year.	

[20] Cicero de Offic. l. ii.
[21] Diodor. l. xv. c. xcii.
[22] See vol. iii. c. xxix. p. 329

CHAP. XXXIII.

A. C. 380.

Olynthus, and reinſtated the Macedonian King in full poſſeſſion of his dominions. In conſequence of this event, Amyntas eſtabliſhed, and thenceforth held, his court at Pella, where he enjoyed ſeveral years of tranquillity, cultivating the friendſhip of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians.

The uſurper Pauſanias.

The ſhort reign of his ſon Alexander was diſturbed by a freſh invaſion of the Illyrians, from whom he purchaſed a precarious peace[23]. He left two brothers, Perdiccas and Philip, of whom the elder was ſtill a minor. Availing himſelf of *their* youth and weakneſs, Pauſanias found means to uſurp the throne, being ſupported not only by the Thracians, but by a conſiderable body of Greek mercenaries, as well as by a powerful party in Macedon.

Dethroned by Iphicrates, at the entreaty of Eurydicé A. C. 370.

Iphicrates, the Athenian, happened at this critical juncture to return from Amphipolis, the recovery of which formed the main object of his expedition. In former journies to the coaſt of Thrace, he had been treated with diſtinguiſhed regard by Amyntas, whoſe widow Eurydice now craved the protection of Iphicrates for the ſons of his friend. This princeſs was deſcended from the Bacchiadæ, the nobleſt family of Corinth, who, rather than live on an equality with their fellow-citizens in that republic, had become the leaders of the Lynceſtæ, a barbarous tribe inhabiting the moſt weſtern diſtrict of Macedon. Euridicé inherited all the ambition of her race, and was diſtinguiſhed by a bold

[23] Diodorus & Juſtin. ubi ſupra.

intriguing

CHAP. XXXIII.

intriguing ſpirit[24] ſtill more than by her beauty and accompliſhments. With her young ſons ſhe ſuddenly appeared before Iphicrates, in the ſupplicating form of calamity and woe; preſented the eldeſt to his hand, placed Philip, the younger, on his knee, and conjured him, by "the ſincere friendſhip which Amyntas had ever entertained for Athens and for himſelf, to pity their tender years, oppreſſed by cruel uſurpation." The dignity of her ſorrow prevailed with Iphicrates, who reſpected the ſacred ties of hoſpitality, and who ſaw the advantage that might accrue to Athens by gaining an intereſt in Macedon. We are not informed by what means he eſtabliſhed Perdiccas on the throne. The revolution was effected with ſuch rapidity[25], that we may ſuppoſe a ſudden inſurrection of the people, who, on important emergencies, were accuſtomed, as in the heroic ages, to aſſemble in arms.

During the minority of the young prince, the kingdom was governed by his natural brother Ptolemy, whoſe ambition, unſatisfied with a delegated power, openly aſpired to reign. This uſurper (as we have related above) was dethroned by Pelopidas and the Thebans, who reinſtated Perdiccas in his dominions; and, in order to ſecure the dependence of Macedon on Thebes, carried into that city as hoſtages thirty Macedonian youths, and with them Philip, the younger brother of the King.

Ptolemy dethroned by Pelopidas, who ſends Philip as a hoſtage to Thebes. A.C. 365.

Perdiccas ſeemed proud of his chain. Elated with the protection of the Thebans, then in the height

Perdiccas defeated by the Illyrians.

[24] Juſtin. l. vii. c. iv.

[25] Cornel. Nepos, in Iphicrat. Æſchin. de falſa Legatione.

CHAP. XXXIII.

height of their prosperity, he forgot the gratitude due to Iphicrates and the Athenians; disputed the right of that people to Amphipolis, which had been acknowledged by the general council of Greece[26]; and his opposition rendered fruitless their well-directed endeavours to recover that important establishment. The Athenians found an avenger in Bardyllis the Illyrian, to whom Perdiccas had denied the tribute that had been paid by his predecessors Argæus and Alexander. Bardyllis maintained his claim by force of arms. The Macedonians met him in the field, but were totally defeated with the loss of four thousand men[27]. Perdiccas was taken prisoner, and soon after died of his wounds. His son Amyntas was an infant. Thebes having lost her pre-eminence in Greece, was unable to protect her distant allies. Athens was hostile, and Macedon, surrounded by enemies on every side, already experienced the fury of Barbarian invaders.

Macedon distracted by pretenders to throne, and desolated by four foreign armies.

Not only the Illyrians and Bardyllis, who ravaged the west, but the Pæonians, a powerful and warlike tribe, having received some cause of offence from Perdiccas, now indulged their revenge, and insulted the northern frontier without interruption or controul. The Thracians still supported the cause of Pausanias, whom they prepared to send back into Macedon at the head of a numerous army. Ptolemy was dead; but Argæus, the ancient competitor of King Amyntas, emboldened by the victory of the Illyrians, who had formerly placed him on the throne, renewed his pretensions

[26] Demosth. de falsa Legat. [27] Diodor. l. xvi. sect. 2.

to

CHAP. XXXIII.

to that dignity; and, grown old in intrigue, eaſily perſuaded the Athenians, by the hopes of recovering Amphipolis, to exert themſelves in his favour, eſpecially againſt the ſon and brother of Perdiccas, by whoſe inſolence and ingratitude they were juſtly provoked and diſguſted. Impelled by ſuch motives, the Athenians launched their fleet, and ſailed towards the coaſt of Macedon, with three thouſand heavy-armed men, commanded by Mantias[28].

Such were the evils which threatened, and the calamities which oppreſſed, that unfortunate and diſtracted kingdom, when Philip appeared, aſſerting, unterrified, the rights of his infant nephew, againſt two candidates for the throne, and four formidable armies. A prince of leſs courage than Philip would have ſhrunk from a deſign ſeemingly deſperate and impracticable; and had courage been his principal virtue, he would have only heightened the diſorders which he hoped to remedy[29]. But on this emergency, the young Macedonian (for he was only in his twenty-third year [30]) diſplayed thoſe extraordinary abilities which diſtinguiſh his reign, and render it the moſt intereſting ſpectacle that hiſtory can preſent to thoſe who are delighted with ſurveying, not the vulgar revolutions of force and fortune, but the active energies and reſources of a vigorous and comprehenſive mind. Such was the obſcurity in which his merit had hitherto lain concealed from the

Amidſt theſe calamities Philip arrives in Macedon. Olymp. cv. 1. A. C. 360.

[28] Diodorus, ubi ſupra.
[29] Olivier Vie de Philippe, p. 47.
[30] Comp. Diodor. p. 510 & Juſtin. l. ix. c. viii.

public,

CHAP. XXXIII.

His education, and transactions preceding that period.

public, that historians[31] disagree as to the place of his residence, when he was informed of the defeat and death of his brother Perdiccas. From the age of fifteen he had lived chiefly in Thebes, in the family and under the direction of Epaminondas[32], whose lessons and example could not fail to excite, in a kindred mind, the emulation of excellence, and the ardour of patriotism[33]. It is probable, that, agreeably to the custom of Greece and Rome, where the youth alternately frequented the school and the camp, and might sometimes find a school of philosophy in the tent of a general, that Philip accompanied the Theban hero in many of his military expeditions. It is certain that, attended suitably to his rank, he visited the principal republics of Greece, whose institutions in peace and war he examined with a sagacity far superior to his years[34]. The tactics of the Lacedæmonians were the first new establishment which he introduced into Macedon. Nor was the improvement of his knowledge the only fruit of his travels. The brother of a king found an easy access to whomever he had an interest to know and cultivate. Even in Athens, then hostile to Thebes, and naturally unfavourable

[31] Diodorus places him in Thebes: Athenæus, l. ii. p. 506, in Macedon; and adds, Διατρεφων δε ενταυθα δυναμιν, ὡς ωπεθανε Περδικκας, εξ ιτοιμου, δυναμεως υπαρχουσης, πετεσε τοις πραγμασι Words which admirably correspond to the rapid motions of Philip after the death of Perdiccas.

[32] Plutarch. in Pelopida.

[33] Plutarch speaks with the partiality of a Bœotian for Epaminondas, and the resentment of a native of Chæronea against Philip. See Plutarch. in Pelopid.

[34] Plutarch. in Alexand. Athenæus, l. xi. p. 506.

to

CHAP. XXXIII.

to a pupil of Epaminondas, Philip acquired the friendſhip and eſteem of Plato[35], Iſocrates[36], and Ariſtotle[37]; and the early connection which he formed with the principal leaders of Athens and the neighbouring republics, contributed, perhaps, in no ſmall degree, to the ſucceſs of his future deſigns[38].

The Illyrians evacuate Macedon.

His ſeaſonable appearance in Macedon, after the defeat and death of Perdiccas, ſuddenly changed the fortune of that ſeemingly devoted kingdom. Yet our admiration of Philip ought not to make us overlook the favourable circumſtances which ſeconded his abilities, and conſpired to promote his ſucceſs. The places of ſtrength built by Archelaus furniſhed a ſecure retreat to the remains of Perdiccas's army; the Macedonians, though conquered, were not ſubdued; they had conſiderable garriſons in the fortreſſes and walled towns ſcattered over the kingdom[39]; their whole forces had not been engaged in the unfortunate battle with the Illyrians[40]; and thoſe fierce invaders, impatient of delay, and only ſolicitous for plunder, having ravaged the open country, returned home to enjoy the fruits of their violence and rapine. They probably intended ſoon to aſſault Macedon with encreaſed numbers, and to complete their devaſt-

[35] Athenæus, l. xi. Ælian, l. iv. c. xix.

[36] Iſocratis Epiſtola & Oratio ad Philipp.

[37] Ariſtotle at this time lived in the academy with Plato, where, moſt probably, Philip firſt ſaw him. Dionyſ. Halicarnaſ. Epiſt. ad Ammæum.

[38] Demoſthen. paſſim.

[39] Thucydid. l. xi. p. 168.

[40] Athenæus, l. xi. p. 506.

ations.

CHAP. XXXIII.

ations;[41] but they ſeem to have been alike unqualified to concert or to purſue any permament plan of conqueſt; and being diſtinguiſhed, as hiſtorians relate, by their blooming complexions, active vigour, and longevity[42], they were not leſs diſtinguiſhed by that irregular and capricious mode of acting, and that inattention to remote conſequences, which characteriſe the manners of Barbarians.

Manners of Thrace and Paeonia.

The warriors of Paeonia and Thrace[43] were leſs formidable by their numbers, and equally contemptible for their ignorance and indocility. In early times, the Paeonians indeed had been regarded as a tribe leſs ſavage, and more conſiderable than their Macedonian neighbours; but the former had remained ſtationary, in the rudeneſs of their primitive ſtate, while the latter had been improved by a Grecian colony, and by frequent communication and intercourſe with the Grecian republics. Of the Thracians we have had occaſion to ſpeak in the preceding parts of this work. The deſtructive ravages of Scuthes[44] repreſent the ordinary condition of that unſettled and inhoſpitable country, ſometimes united under one chief, more frequently divided among many, whoſe mutual hoſtilities baniſhed agriculture, induſtry, and every uſeful art. Excluſive of the Grecian ſettlements on the coaſt, Thrace contained not any city, nor even any conſiderable town. The Barbarian Getys, who was

[41] Lucian. in Macrobiis, & Cornel. Alexand. apud Plinium, lib. vii. cap. clvii.

[42] Cornel. Nepos in Iphicrat. Xenoph. Anab. l. vii. p. 393.

[43] Hippocrat. de Epidem.

[44] Herod. vii. p. [illegible] & ſeqq.

dignified

CHAP. XXXIII.

dignified with the title of king, led a wandering life, encamping on the banks of rivers with his flocks and followers[45]. War and paſturage formed the only ſources of his grandeur, and even the only means of his ſubſiſtence.

Philip diſarms the reſentment of thoſe countries.

Such were the firſt enemies with whom Philip had to contend. Their own capricious unſteadineſs delivered him from the Illyrians. To the Paeonians, who ravaged the north, he either ſent a deputation, or applied in perſon; and partly by bribes, partly by artful promiſes and flattery, perſuaded the invaders to retire. The ſame arts prevailed with the ſelfiſh King of Thrace[*], whoſe avarice readily ſacrificed the cauſe of Pauſanias, while Philip thought the remaining wealth of Macedon uſefully conſumed in removing thoſe barbarous foes, that he might reſiſt, with undivided ſtrength, the more formidable invaſion of Argæus and the Athenians.

Philip declared King of Macedon. Olymp. cv. 1. A. C. 360.

The Athenian fleet already anchored before the harbour of Methone; Argæus, with his numerous followers, had encamped in the province of Pieria; and their united forces prepared to march northward to Edeſſa or Ægæ, the ancient capital of Macedon, where they expected to be joined by a powerful party, whom fear or inclination would bring to the ſtandard of the baniſhed king. The Macedonians

[45] Athenæus, l. xii. p. 531.

[*] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. ſect. 3. Horace alludes to theſe events:

——— diffidit urbium
Portas vi Macedo, & ſubruit æmulor
Reges muneribus. Lib. iii. Ode 16.

who

CHAP. XXXIII.

who adhered to the intereſt of Perdiccas, or rather of his infant ſon, had been diſpirited by the recent victory of the Illyrians, and the misfortunes conſequent on that event. But the manly exhortations, and undaunted deportment of Philip, rouſed them from their deſpair. They admired the dexterity with which he had diſarmed the reſentment of the Thracians and Pæonians. His graceful perſon, inſinuating addreſs, and winning affability, qualities which he poſſeſſed in a very uncommon degree [47], gained the affection of the Macedonians, who either recollected, or were ſtudiouſly reminded of a prophecy [48], that announced great glory to their nation under the reign of the ſon of Amyntas. In an aſſembly held at Ægæ, they exclaimed with one conſent, "This is the man whom the gods point out as the founder of the Macedonian greatneſs. The dangerous condition of the times admits not of an infant reign. Let us obey the celeſtial voice, and entruſt the ſceptre to hands alike worthy to hold, and able to defend it [49]." This propoſal ſeemed not extraordinary in a country which had long been accuſtomed to interruption in the lineal order of ſucceſſion. Amyntas was ſet aſide, and Philip, who had hitherto poſſeſſed

[47] Æſchin. de falſa Legatione.

[48] In the Sibylline verſes preſerved by Pauſanias (in Achaic.) Philip is named as the author of the Macedonian greatneſs, and the deſtruction of the kingdom is foretold under another Philip. Theſe verſes, though evidently compoſed after the event, ſerve to confirm the fact, that the ſuperſtition of the multitude was wrought upon for the purpoſes of Philip. Juſtin. l. vii. c. vi.

[49] Ibid. idem.

only

CHAP. XXXIII.

only the delegated power of regent, was inveſted with the royal title and authority [50].

He defeats the pretender Argæus, and his Athenian auxiliaries.

While all ranks of men were thus animated with affectionate admiration of their young king, the obſolete claims of Argæus could only be maintained by arms. Attended by his Athenian allies, he marched towards Edeſſa; but that ſtronghold ſhut its gates againſt him. Diſpirited by this repulſe, he made no farther attempts to gain admiſſion into any of the Macedonian cities, but directed his courſe backward to Methoné. Philip, who had now collected ſufficient ſtrength to take the field, harraſſed his retreat, cut his rear to pieces, and defeated him in a general engagement, in which Argæus himſelf fell, with the flower of his army. The reſt, whether Greeks or Barbarians, were made priſoners of war [51].

Uncommon treatment of the Athenian and Macedonian priſoners.

It was on this occaſion that Philip firſt diſplayed that deep and artful policy, which, in the courſe of a long reign, gained him ſuch a powerful aſcendant over the paſſions of other men, and enabled him uniformly to govern his own by the intereſt of his ambition. In the midſt of proſperity, his proud and lofty ſpirit muſt have been highly provoked by the Athenians, as well as by the followers of Argæus; and the barbarous maxims and practices which prevailed in that age, left him at full liberty to wreak his vengeance on the unhappy priſoners of both, who had fallen into his hands. But

[50] Diodorus, l. xvi. ſect. 3.

[51] Diodorus, ibid. & Demoſth. in Ariſtocrat.

CHAP. XXXIII.

the intereſt of Philip required him rather to ſoothe than to irritate the people of Athens, and to obtain by good offices (what he could not command by force) the confidence of his Macedonian ſubjects. The captives of the latter nation were called into his preſence, rebuked with gentleneſs and humanity, admitted to ſwear allegiance to their new maſter, and promiſcuouſly diſtributed in the body of his army. The Athenian priſoners were treated in a manner ſtill more extraordinary [52]. Inſtead of demanding any ranſom for their perſons, he reſtored their baggage unexamined, and entertained them at his table with ſuch condeſcending hoſpitality, that they returned home, full of admiration for the young King, and deeply perſuaded of his attachment and reſpect for their republic [53].

Philip amuſes the Athenians with a treaty of peace and friendſhip. Olymp. cv. 2. A. C. 359.

They had only time to blaze forth the praiſes of Philip, when his ambaſſadors arrived at Athens [54]. He knew that the loſs of Amphipolis principally excited the reſentment of the Athenians; he knew that the intereſt of Macedon required that reſentment to be appeaſed. Impreſſed with theſe ideas, he renounced all juriſdiction over Amphipolis, which

[52] The fair ſide of Philip's character is deſcribed by Diodor. l. xvi. p. 510, & ſeqq. and 539. By Juſt. l. ix. c. viii. The moſt diſadvantageous deſcription of him is given by Demoſthenes, paſſim, and by Theopompus in Athenæus, l. iv. c. xix. l. vi. c. xvii. & l. x. c. x. Cicero ſeems to have totally diſregarded the angry aſſertions of Demoſthenes, when, in ſpeaking of Philip and Alexander, he ſays, "Alter ſemper magnus, alter ſæpe turpiſſimus." But the artificial character of Philip, which varied with his intereſt, merits neither the panegyrics nor the invectives too liberally beſtowed on it.

[53] Demoſthenes in Ariſtocrat. [54] Ibid.

was

CHAP. XXXIII.

was formally declared a free and independent city, subject only to the government of its own equitable laws [55]. This measure, together with the distinguished treatment of the Athenian prisoners, insured success to his embassy. An ancient treaty was renewed, that had long subsisted between his father Amyntas and the Athenians. That capricious and unsteady people, not less susceptible of gratitude, than prone to anger, were thus lulled into repose, at a time when fortune having placed them at the head of Greece, both their present power and ancient glory urged them to take the front of the battle against Philip. Confiding in the insidious treaty with that prince, they engaged in a ruinous war with their allies [56]; and ceased, during several years, to make any opposition to the ambitious designs of the Macedonian.

Philip institutes the order of δορυφοροι, *spearmen, companions*, Olymp. cv. 2. A. C. 359.

The young King having given such illustrious proofs of his abilities in negociation and war, availed himself of the affectionate admiration of his subjects to establish, during a season of tranquillity, such institutions as might maintain and extend his own power, and confirm the solid grandeur of Macedon. The laws and maxims which prevailed in the heroic ages, and which, as we have already observed, had been early introduced into that kingdom, circumscribed the royal authority within very narrow bounds. The chiefs and nobles, especially in the more remote provinces, regarded themselves as the rivals and equals of their sovereign. In

[55] Polyæn. Stratag. l. iv. c. 17.

[56] See vol. iii. c. xxxii.

CHAP. XXXIII.

foreign war they followed his ſtandard, but they often ſhook his throne by domeſtic ſedition; and, amidſt the ſcanty materials for explaining the internal ſtate of Macedon in ancient times, we may diſcover ſeveral inſtances in which they diſavowed their allegiance, and aſſumed independent government over conſiderable diſtricts of the country [57]. The moment of glory and ſucceſs ſeemed the moſt favourable for extinguiſhing this dangerous ſpirit, and quaſhing the proud hopes of the nobles. In this deſign Philip proceeded with that artful policy which characteriſes his reign. From the braveſt of the Macedonian youth, he ſelected a choice body of *companions* [58], who, being diſtinguiſhed by honourable appellations, and entertained at the royal table, attended the King's perſon in war and in hunting. Their intimacy with the ſovereign, which was regarded as a proof of their merit, obliged them to ſuperior diligence in all the ſevere duties of a military life [59]. The generous youths, animated with the hope of glory, vied with each other to gain admiſſion into this diſtinguiſhed order; and while, on one hand, they ſerved as hoſtages [60] for the allegiance of their families, they formed on the other, an uſeful ſeminary of future generals [61], who, after conquering for Philip and Alexander,

[57] Strabo, l. vii. p. 326. Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. l. v.

[58] Arrian, & Ælian. [59] Ælian, l. xiv. c. 49.

[60] Arrian ſays, "των εν τελει Μακεδονων τους παιδας," "the ſons of men in office;" which well agrees with the idea of their being hoſtages for the fidelity of their parents. He alſo aſcribes the inſtitution to Philip. Εκ Φιλιππου ηδη καθεστηκος. Arrian, l. iv. p. 89.

[61] Curtius, l. viii. c. 6.

at

CHAP. XXXIII.

at length conquered for themſelves, and divided the ſpoils of the ancient world.

His military arrangements.

It is ignorantly ſaid by ſome writers [62], that Philip, in the firſt year of his reign, invented the phalanx, a body of ſix thouſand men, carrying ſhort ſwords, fit either for cutting or thruſting; ſtrong bucklers, four feet in length, and two and a half in breadth; and pikes fourteen cubits long, which heavy-armed brigade, uſually arranged ſixteen deep, formed the main battle of the Macedonians. But this is nothing different from the armour and arrangement which had always prevailed among the Greeks, and which Philip adopted in their moſt perfect form; nor is there reaſon to think that a prince, who knew the danger of changing what the experience of ages had approved, made any alteration in the weapons or tactics of that people [63]. His attention was more judiciouſly directed to procure, in ſufficient abundance, arms, horſes, and other neceſſary inſtruments of war; in reviewing and exerciſing

[62] Diodorus Siculus, l. xvi. f. 3. and all the Roman writers of Greek hiſtory. It was natural for the Romans, who began to know Greece and Macedon almoſt at the ſame time, and who found the phalanx moſt complete in the latter, to ſuppoſe it invented in that country.

[63] The improvement in the countermarch, to which Philip gave the appearance of advancing, inſtead of retreating, mentioned by Ælian in his tactics, c. xxviii. was borrowed, as this author tells us, from the Lacedæmonians. If Philip increaſed the phalanx, uſually leſs numerous, to ſix thouſand men, this was far from an improvement; and the latter kings of Macedon, who ſwelled it to ſixteen thouſand, only rendered that order of battle more unwieldy and inconvenient: The higheſt perfection of Grecian tactics is to be found in Xenophon's expedition. See vol. iii. c. xxvi. p. 208, & ſeqq. See alſo Polyb. l. xvii. p. 764. & Liv. l. xliv. c. 40.

CHAP. XXXIII.

his troops; and in accuſtoming them to that auſtere and laborious life [64], which is the beſt preparation for the field.

Pæonia. Olymp. cv. 3. A.C. 358.

The military reſources which his activity had provided, his ambition did not allow to remain long unemployed. The death of Agis, the moſt warlike chieftain, or, as he is called by an hiſtorian [65], King of the Pæonians, drew Philip into the field, to revenge recent injuries which thoſe Barbarians had inflicted on Macedon. Among a people where the laws of peace or war are neglected or unknown, almoſt every thing depends on the precarious character of their leaders. Deprived of the valour of Agis, the Pæonians loſt all hopes of defence. Philip over-ran their country without reſiſtance; carried off ſlaves and plunder; impoſed a tribute on their chiefs; received hoſtages; and reduced Pæonia to an abſolute dependence on Macedon.

Defeats the Illyrians, and extends his territory to the Ionian ſea.

It is probable that, according to the practice of the age, he permitted or required a certain number of the vanquiſhed to follow his ſtandard; for the Pæonians were no ſooner reduced, than Philip, to whom all ſeaſons ſeemed alike proper for war, undertook a winter's campaign againſt Bardyllis and the Illyrians, the hereditary enemies of his family and kingdom. He marched towards the frontier of Illyria [66] at the head of ten thouſand foot

[64] Polyænus, l. iv. c. 3. Frontin. Strat. l. iv. c. 1.

[65] Diodorus, l. xvi. ſect. 4.

[66] The Greek name of this country is Ἰλλυρίς, but more commonly ὁ Ἰλλυριοι, from its inhabitants. Vid. Arrian, l. i. paſſim. The Latin name

CHAP. XXXIII.

foot and ſix hundred horſe, and, before entering the country, animated the reſentment and valour of his troops by a military oration, after the cuſtom of the Greeks, whoſe manners he ſeemed, on every occaſion, ambitious to imitate. Indignation of paſt injuries, the honour of his ſubjects, and the glory of his crown, might be topics proper to influence the Macedonian ſoldiers [67], who could not fully enter into the more refined motives of their ſovereign. Illyria had been extended on the eaſt, to the prejudice of Macedon, which it totally excluded from the excellent harbours on the Hadriatic [68]. This was an important conſideration to a prince, who ſeems to have early meditated the deſign of raiſing a naval power. Beſides this, it was impoſſible for Philip to undertake with ſafety the other meaſures which he had in view, ſhould he leave his kingdom expoſed to the predatory incurſions of a neighbouring enemy, who, unleſs they feared Macedon, muſt always be formidable to that country. Directed by ſuch ſolid principles of policy, rather than governed by reſentment, or allured by the ſplendour of victory, Philip proceeded for-

name is *Illyricum*; moſt Engliſh writers of ancient hiſtory uſe *Illyria*, probably from the French *Illyrie*. The Greek Ἰλλυρὶς is deſcribed by Strabo, l. vii. p. 317. It comprehended the eaſtern ſhore of the Hadriatic, between Epirus and Iſtria. The Latin *Illyricum* had a ſignification far more extenſive. Appian. Illyric. ſub init. & Gibbon's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 27.

[67] The heads of the ſpeech are given, indirectly, in the fragments of Theopompus.

[68] Strabo ſays ἅπαντα τὸν Ἰλλυρικὸν (ſcilicet χωρὸν) σφόδρα εὐλιμενὸν εἶναι; and adds, that the ſhore of Illyria is as abundant, as the oppoſite coaſt of Italy is defective, in good harbours. Strabo, l. vii.

CHAP. XXXIII.

ward, with the caution neceſſary to be obſerved in an hoſtile territory. After a fruitleſs negociation, Bardyllis met him in the field with an adequate body of infantry, but with only four hundred horſe. The preciſe ſcene of the engagement is unknown. The Macedonian phalanx attacked the Illyrian column[69] in front, while the targeteers and light-armed troops galled its flank, and the cavalry haraſſed its rear. The Illyrians, thus ſurrounded on every ſide, were cruſhed between oppoſite aſſaults, without having an opportunity to exert their full ſtrength[70]. Their reſiſtance, however, muſt have been vigorous, ſince ſeven thouſand were left on the field of battle, and with them their gallant leader Bardyllis, who fell, at the age of ninety, fighting bravely on horſeback. The loſs of their experienced chief, and of the flower of their youthful warriors, broke the ſtrength and courage of the Illyrian tribes, who ſent a deputation to Philip, humbly craving peace, and ſubmitting their fortune to the will of the conqueror. Philip granted them the ſame terms[71] which he had

[69] The Illyrians were drawn up in the order of battle called πλινθιον from πλινθος, a brick; which clearly points out its form.

[70] Frontinus Stratag. l. ii. c. 3.

[71] It ſhould ſeem from Diodorus, that the Illyrians had entertained the ſame ſuperſtitious terror of neglecting the interment of the dead, which prevailed among the Greeks. Yet Diodorus, perhaps, only uſed a privilege too common among hiſtorians, of transferring their own feelings to thoſe concerning whom they write. He ſays, that Philip "reſtored their dead, and erected a trophy." Pauſanias (in Bœotic.) denies that either Philip or his ſon Alexander ever erected any of thoſe monuments of victory; which practice, he ſays, was contrary to a Macedonian maxim, eſtabliſhed as early as the time of Caranus,

had lately impoſed on the Pæonians. *That* part of Illyria which lies eaſt of the lake Lychnidus, he joined to Macedon; and probably built a town and ſettled a colony on the ſide of the lake, which watered a fertile country, and abounded in different kinds of fiſhes, highly eſteemed by the ancients. The town and lake of Lychnidus were fifty miles diſtant from the Ionian ſea; but ſuch was the aſcendant that the arms and policy of Philip acquired over his neighbours, that the inhabitants of the intermediate diſtrict ſoon adopted the language and manners of their conquerors; and their territory, hitherto unconnected with any foreign power, ſank into ſuch an abſolute dependence on Macedon, that many ancient geographers conſidered it as a province of that country [72].

CHAP. XXXIII.

Having ſettled the affairs of Illyria, Philip returned home, not to enjoy the ſweets of victory and repoſe, but to purſue more important and more arduous deſigns than thoſe which he had hitherto carried on with ſuch ſignal ſucceſs. He had ſecured and extended the northern and weſtern frontier of Macedon; but the rich ſouthern ſhores, chiefly inhabited by Greeks, preſented at once a more tempting prize, and a more formidable enemy. The confederacy of Olynthus, having thrown off

Philip's deſigns againſt Amphipolis. Olymp. v. 4. A. C. 35

Caranus, when a lion having overturned one of his trophies, the wiſe founder of the monarchy regarded this event as a warning to forbear raiſing them in future. But the medals of Philip and Alexander, of which the reverſe is ſometimes charged with trophies, refute the aſſertion of Pauſanias; which is likewiſe contradicted by Arrian, Curtius, and all the writers of the life, or expedition, of Alexander.

[72] Strabo, l. vii. p. 327.

CHAP. XXXIII.

the yoke of Sparta, had become more powerful than ever. It could ſend into the field ten thouſand heavy-armed men, and a large body of well-diſciplined cavalry. Moſt towns of the Chalcidicé had become its allies or ſubjects; and this populous and wealthy province, together with Pangæus on the right, and Pieria on the left, the cities of both which were either independent, or ſubject to the Athenians, formed a barrier ſufficient not only to guard the Grecian ſtates againſt Macedon, but even to threaten the ſafety of that kingdom. Every motive concurred to direct the active policy of Philip towards acquiſitions immediately neceſſary in themſelves, and eſſential to the completion of his remote purpoſes. In the courſe of twenty years, he accompliſhed his deſigns, and conquered Greece; often varying his means, never changing his end; and notwithſtanding the circumſtances and events that continually thwarted his ambition, we behold the opening and gradual progreſs of a vaſt plan, every ſtep in which paved the way for that which followed, till the whole ended in the moſt ſignal triumph, perhaps, ever attained by human prudence, over courage and fortune.

Importance of that place.

The importance of Olynthus and Chalcidicé could not divert the ſagacity of Philip from Amphipolis, which he regarded as a more neceſſary, though leſs ſplendid, conqueſt. The poſſeſſion of Amphipolis, which would connect Macedon with the ſea, and ſecure to that kingdom many commercial advantages, opened a road to the woods and mines of mount Pangæus, the former of which

was

CHAP. XXXIII.

was so essential to the raising of a naval power, and the latter to the forming and keeping on foot a sufficient military force. The place itself, Philip, in the beginning of his reign, had declared independent, to avoid a rupture with the Athenians, who still asserted their pretensions to an ancient and long favoured colony. But their measures to regain Amphipolis had hitherto been rendered ineffectual by the caprice or perfidy of Charidemus, a native of Eubœa, who, from the common level of a soldier of fortune, had risen to the command of a considerable body of mercenaries, frequently employed by the indolence and licentiousness of the Athenians, a people extremely averse both to the fatigue and restraint of personal service. They determined, however, to renew their attempts for recovering their dominion, while the Amphipolitans, having tasted the sweets of liberty, prepared to maintain their independence.

Amphipolis enters into the Olynthian confederacy.

In this posture of affairs, the hostile designs of Philip, which all his artifice had not been able to conceal from the suspicious jealousy of the new republic, alarmed the magistrates of Amphipolis, and obliged them to seek protection from the Olynthians, who readily admitted them into their confederacy. Emboldened by this alliance, they set at defiance the menaces of their neighbouring, as well as of their more distant, enemy; and their imprudent insolence readily furnished Philip with specious grounds of hostility. The Olynthians perceived that the indignation of this prince must soon break forth into action, and overwhelm the Amphi-

CHAP. XXXIII.

Amphipolitans; while they themſelves might be involved in the ruin of their new confederate. To anticipate this danger, they ſent ambaſſadors to Athens, requeſting an alliance with that republic againſt the natural enemy of both ſtates, and an enemy whoſe ſucceſsful activity rendered him a juſt object of terror.

The intrigues of Philip prevent an alliance between Athens and Olynthus.

This alliance, had it taken place, muſt have given a fatal blow to the riſing greatneſs of Macedon, which as yet was incapable of contending with the united ſtrength of Olynthus and Athens. The ſpies and emiſſaries of Philip (for he had already begun to employ thoſe odious, but neceſſary, inſtruments of policy) immediately gave the alarm. The prince himſelf was deeply ſenſible of the danger, and determined to repel it with equal vigour and celerity. His agents reached Athens before any thing was concluded with the Olynthian deputies. The popular leaders and orators were bribed and gained; the magiſtrates and ſenate were flattered and deceived by the moſt plauſible declarations and promiſes. A negociation was immediately ſet on foot, by which Philip ſtipulated to conquer Amphipolis for the Athenians, on condition that they ſurrendered to him Pydna, a place of far leſs importance. He promiſed, beſides, to confer many other advantages on the republic, which it was not proper at preſent to mention, but which time would reveal [73]. Amuſed by the arti-

[73] Και το θρυλλουμενον ποτε απορρητον εκεινο. Demoſthen. Olynth. i. p. 6. edit. Wolfii. It is ſtrange that Wolfius has changed the order of the Olynthian orations, ſo diſtinctly marked by Dion. Halicarn. in his letter to Ammæus.

fices

fices of the Macedonian, deceived by the perfidy of their own magiſtrates, and elated with the hopes of recovering Amphipolis, the great object of their ambition, the ſenate of the Five Hundred (for the tranſaction was carried on with ſuch haſte as allowed not time for aſſembling the people) rejected with diſdain the overtures of the Olynthians [74], who returned home diſguſted and indignant.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Artifices by which he gained the Olynthians.

They had ſcarcely time to communicate to their countrymen the angry paſſions which agitated their own breaſts, when the ambaſſadors of Philip craved audience in the aſſembly of Olynthus. That artful prince affected to condole with the Olynthians on the affront which they had received from the inſolence of Athens; but, at the ſame time, teſtified his ſurpriſe, that they ſhould condeſcend to court the diſtant protection of that proud republic, when they might find in Macedon an ally near at hand, who wiſhed for nothing more earneſtly than to enter into equal and laſting engagements with their confederacy. As a proof of his moderation and ſincerity, he offered immediately to put them in poſſeſſion of Anthemus, a town of ſome importance in their neighbourhood, the juriſdiction of which had long been claimed by the kings of Macedon [75]; alſo in ſtrong terms aſſuring them of his intentions to deſerve their gratitude by ſtill more important ſervices, and particularly by employing his arms to

[74] Demoſthenes expreſſes it in the ſtrongeſt terms, as if they had driven the Olynthians from Athens: "ὅτε Ὀλυνθίους, ἀπηλαυνον τινὰ ἐνθενδε." Demoſthen. Olynth. i. p. 6.

[75] Demoſthen. Philip. ii. 4.

reduce

CHAP. XXXIII.

reduce the cities of Pydna and Potidæa, commanding the oppoſite ſides of the Thermaic gulph; places, therefore, of conſiderable value, which he wiſhed to ſee dependent on Olynthus, rather than, as at preſent, ſubject to Athens.

Philip beſieges Amphipolis. Olymp. v. 4. A.C. 357.

The immediate offers of Philip, his profeſſions and promiſes, in which, as they ſuited his intereſt, he doubtleſs was ſincere, and ſtill more, his ſecret practices with ſome powerful men of Olynthus, effectually prevailed with that republic to abandon the cauſe of Amphipolis, whoſe imprudent inhabitants had been at little pains to prevent thoſe offences and complaints which naturally ariſe between the jealous members of an unequal confederacy. By theſe intrigues, the Macedonian not only removed all oppoſition to his views on the part of the Olynthians, but acquired the ſincere friendſhip of that people, who were ready to reinforce his arms, and to ſecond his moſt ambitious deſigns. He therefore prepared for action, becauſe he might now act with ſafety; marched rapidly towards Amphipolis, and preſſed that city with a vigorous ſiege. The inhabitants, deeply affected by the near proſpect of a calamity which they had taken little care to prevent, had recourſe, in their diſtreſs, to Athens. Thither they diſpatched Hierax and Stratocles, two of their moſt diſtinguiſhed citizens, to repreſent the danger of alliance between Philip and Olynthus; to intreat the Athenians to accept the ſincere repentance of their unfortunate colony, and once more to take Amphipolis under the protection of their fleet.

At

CHAP. XXXIII.

At that time the Athenians were deeply engaged in the ſocial war; yet the hopes of recovering ſo important a ſettlement might have directed their attention to Macedon, had not the vigilant policy of Philip ſent them a letter, renewing the aſſurances of his friendſhip, acknowledging their pretenſions to the city, which he actually beſieged, and of which he artfully ſaid, that, in terms of his recent engagement, he hoped ſhortly to put them in poſſeſſion. Amuſed by theſe inſinuating repreſentations, the Athenians treated the deputies of Amphipolis with as little reſpect as they had lately done thoſe of Olynthus. The beſieged city was thus deprived of all hopes of relief; Philip preſſed the attack with new vigour; a breach was made in the walls; and the Amphipolitans, after an obſtinacy of defence which could have no other effect than to provoke the reſentment of the conqueror, at length ſurrendered at diſcretion [76].

Amuſes the Athenian

Amphipolis ſurrenders. Olymp. civ. 4. A. C. 357 Is ann xc to Mac don.

The prudent Macedonian always preferred his own profit to the puniſhment of his enemies. It was his intereſt to preſerve and to aggrandiſe, not to depopulate, Amphipolis. He baniſhed a few daring leaders, whoſe ſeditious or patriotic ſpirit might diſturb the meaſures of his government. The bulk of the citizens were treated with mildneſs. Their commonwealth was incorporated with Macedon, from which Philip reſolved that it ſhould never be diſmembered, notwithſtanding his recent promiſes to the Athenians.

[76] Diodor. l. xvi. c. viii. Demoſthen. Olynth. iii. ſect. 4—7.

That

CHAP. XXXIII.

Philip puts the Olynthians in poſſeſſion of Pydna and Potidæa.

That he might arm himſelf againſt the reſentment of a people, whom, if he could not deceive, he was determined to defy, he cultivated, with great earneſtneſs, the Olynthian confederacy; and having beſieged and taken the towns of Pydna and Potidæa, he readily ceded them to the Olynthians, who had but feebly aſſiſted him in making theſe conqueſts. In the whole tranſaction Philip affected to act merely as an auxiliary. The Athenian garriſon in Potidæa, who had ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war, he took under his immediate protection, and diſmiſſed them without ranſom, artfully lamenting that the neceſſity of his affairs, and his alliance with Olynthus, obliged him to oppoſe the intereſts of their republic, for which he entertained the moſt ſincere reſpect [77].

Philip purſues his conqueſts in Thrace.

It is impoſſible that the Athenians, weak and credulous as they were, ſhould have been the dupes of this groſs artifice. But they could not immediately withdraw their exertions from the ſocial war, the events of which grew continually more unproſperous. Philip, ever vigilant and active, profited of this favourable diverſion, to purſue his conqueſts in Thrace, to which the poſſeſſion of Amphipolis afforded him an opening. In the beginning of his reign, he had found it neceſſary to purchaſe a peace from Cotys, who ſtill governed that country, but from whom Philip could not actually apprehend any formidable oppoſition. The late acquaintance of that Barbarian with the Grecian

[77] Diodor. l. xvi. c. viii. & Demoſth. Philip. ii. & Olynth. i.

religion

religion and manners, which he had adopted in consequence of his connection with Iphicrates and the Athenians, served only to deprave his faculties and to cloud his reason. We should pronounce absolutely mad, the man who fancied himself enamoured of Minerva; but the ancients, who believed that the gods often appeared in a human form, regarded with more tenderness this frantic enthusiasm. Cotys was allowed to possess his freedom and his crown, whether, with his ambulatory court, he traversed the inhospitable mountains of Thrace, or pitched his tents on the fragrant banks of the Strymon or the Nessus; or, to enjoy with more privacy the favours of his celestial mistress, penetrated into the deep recesses of the beautiful forests which adorned the central division of his kingdom. CHAP. XXXIII.

At the approach of the Macedonians, having abandoned the grove of Onocarsis, the favourite scene of his wild pursuits and romantic enjoyments [78], he endeavoured to stop the progress of the enemy by a letter; but a letter from such a man was calculated to excite only ridicule or pity. Philip penetrated eastward thirty miles beyond Amphipolis, to the town of Crenidæ, situated at the foot of Mount Pangæus. He admired the solitary beauty of the surrounding district, which being bounded on one side by the sea, and on the other by lofty mountains, was watered by many streams and rivulets, which, tempering the dryness of the soil, produced the finest and most delicious

Takes possession of the gold mines at Crenidæ, afterwards called Philippi. Olymp. cv. 4. A. C. 357.

[78] Theopomp. apud Athenæum, l. xii. p. 531.

CHAP. XXXIII.

fruit, and flowers, eſpecially roſes, of a peculiar hue and fragrancy. But the attention of Philip was attracted by objects more important, the rich mines of gold in that neighbourhood, formerly wrought by colonies from Thaſos and from Athens, but totally neglected ſince the ignorant Thracians had become maſters of Crenidæ. Philip expelled thoſe Barbarians from a poſſeſſion which they ſeemed unworthy to hold. Having deſcended into the gold-mines, he traced, by the help of torches, the decayed labours of the ancient proprietors. By his care the water was drained off; the canals, broken or choaked up, were repaired; and the boſom of the earth was again opened and ranſacked [79] with eager avidity by a prince who well knew the value of the precious metals. A Macedonian colony was planted at Crenidæ, which thenceforth aſſumed the name of Philippi [80], a name beſtowed alſo on the golden coins ſtruck by order of Philip [81], to the annual amount of nearly a thouſand talents, or two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling [82].

Philip ſettles the affairs of Theſſaly.

Having effected the main purpoſe of his Thracian expedition, the prudence of Philip ſet bounds

[79] Senec. Natur. Quæſt. l. v. p. 760. & Demoſthen. in Leptin.

[80] The fatal defeat and death of Brutus and Caſſius have eclipſed in their melancholy ſplendour, all the preceding events which diſtinguiſh Philippi. There liberty expired, and virtue yielded to force.

Cum fracta virtus, & minaces
Turpe ſolum tetigere mento. HORACE.

[81] Regale numiſma Philippos.

[82] Diodor. l. xvi. c. ix. Juſtin. l. viii. c. iii. ſpeaks differently; but the whole of that chapter bears evident marks of ignorance and error.

to

CHAP. XXXIII.

to his conqueſts in that country, and carried his arms into Theſſaly, which, by the murder of Alexander of Pheræ, had got three tyrants inſtead of one. Theſe were, Tiſiphonus, Pitholaus, and Lycophron, the brothers-in-law, the aſſaſſins, and the ſucceſſors of Alexander. The reſentment of the Theſſalians, and the valour of the Macedonian troops, totally defeated thoſe oppreſſors of their country, who were reduced to ſuch humiliating terms as ſeemed ſufficient to prevent them from being thenceforth formidable either to their own ſubjects or their neighbours[83]. The Theſſalians, who were ſuſceptible of all impreſſions, but incapable of preſerving any, concluded, in the firſt emotions of their gratitude, an agreement with their deliverer, by which they ſurrendered to him the revenues ariſing from their fairs and towns of commerce, as well as all the conveniencies of their harbours and ſhipping; and, extraordinary as this ceſſion was, Philip found means to render it effectual and permanent[84].

Advantages which he derived from that country

He immediately contracted an alliance with Arybbas, King of Epirus, a ſmall principality which ſkirted the weſtern frontier of Theſſaly. In his excurſions from Thebes, Philip had early ſeen Olympias, ſiſter to that prince, whoſe wit and ſpirit, joined to the lively graces of her youth and beauty, had made a deep impreſſion on his heart. They were initiated, at the ſame time, in the myſteries of Ceres, during the triennial feſtival in the

Philip marries Olympias. Olymp. cv. 4. A. C. 357.

[83] Diodor. l. xvi. c. xiv. & Plut. in Pelopid.

[84] Demoſth. Philip. l. 10. Polyæn. Stratag. l. iv. c. xix.

CHAP. XXXIII.

iſle of Samothrace, which had been long as much diſtinguiſhed as Eleuſis [85] itſelf, by the peculiar worſhip and protection of this bountiful goddeſs. But the active ambition, which employed and engroſſed the firſt years of Philip's reign, ſhould ſeem to have baniſhed every other paſſion, when his expedition into Theſſaly recalled the image of Olympias. Their firſt interview naturally revived his admiration or love; and, as the Kings of Epirus were lineally deſcended from Achilles, the match appeared every way ſuitable; Arybbas readily yielded his conſent, and the beautiful princeſs was conducted into Macedon [86].

During the ſolemnities of his nuptials, the neighbouring princes take arms.

The nuptials of Philip were ſolemniſed at Pella with unuſual pomp and ſplendour. Several months were deſtined to religious ſhows and proceſſions, to gymnaſtic games and exerciſes, to muſical and dramatic entertainments. The young and fortunate prince naturally took a principal ſhare in all theſe ſcenes of feſtivity; and it is probable that, amidſt the more elegant amuſements of his court, Philip might diſcover that ſtrong propenſity to vicious indulgence, that delight in buffoons and flatterers, and other diſgraceful miniſters of his more criminal pleaſures, which, however counteracted and balanced by his ambition and magnanimity, diſgraced and tarniſhed the ſucceeding glories of his reign. It is certain that the voluptuous inactivity in which he ſeemed ſunk, encouraged the hopes of his enemies [87]. The tributary princes of

[85] See vol. iii. c. xxi. p. 46.
[86] Juſtin. l. vii. c. vi.
[87] Diodor. l. xvi. c. xxii.

Pæonia

CHAP. XXXIII.

Pæonia and Illyria prepared to rebel; the King of Thrace concurred in their deſigns, which were concerted with more caution than is uſual with Barbarians; and this general conſpiracy of neighbouring ſtates might have repreſſed, for a while, the fortune of Macedon, if Philip had not been ſeaſonably informed of the danger by his faithful partiſans and emiſſaries in thoſe countries.

Philip quaſhes their conſpiracy. Olymp. cvi. 1. A. C. 356.

Early in the enſuing ſpring he took the field with the flower of the Macedonian troops. Parmenio, the general in whom he had moſt confidence, cruſhed the rebellion in Illyria. Philip was equally ſucceſsful in Pæonia and Thrace. While he returned from the latter, he was informed of the victory of Parmenio. A ſecond meſſenger acquainted him that his horſes had gained the prize in the chariot-races at the Olympic games; a victory which he regarded as far more honourable, and which, as it proved him a legitimate ſon of Greece, he carefully commemorated, by impreſſing a chariot on his coins. Almoſt at the ſame time a third meſſenger arrived to tell him that Olympias had brought forth a prince at Pella; to whom, as born amidſt ſuch auſpicious circumſtances, the diviners announced a life of boundleſs proſperity. [88]

Philip's letter to Ariſtotle, announcing the birth of Alexander.

Such a rapid tide of good fortune did not overſet the wiſdom of Philip, if we may judge by the firſt authentic tranſaction which immediately fol-

[88] Plut. in Alexand.

CHAP. XXXIII.

lowed thoſe events. This was the correſponden with Ariſtotle the philoſopher, whoſe merit Phi had early diſcerned at Athens, while the young Stagirite ſtill reſided with his maſter Plato. The firſt letter (fortunately preſerved) is written with a brevity which marks the King and the man of genius. "Know that a ſon is born to us. We thank the gods, not ſo much for their gift, as for beſtowing it at a time when Ariſtotle lives. We aſſure ourſelves that you will form him a prince worthy of his father, and worthy of Macedon." Ariſtotle commenced this illuſtrious employment about thirteen years afterwards [80], when the opening mind of Alexander might be ſuppoſed capable of receiving the benefit of his inſtructions. The ſucceſs of his labours will be explained in the ſequel. The fortune of Alexander ſurpaſſed that of all other conquerors as much as his virtues ſurpaſſed his fortune.

[80] The chronology appears from Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus's letter to Ammæus, who, in order to prove that Demoſtenes had attained the higheſt perfection in the practice, before Ariſtotle had delivered the theory, of eloquence, marks, with great exactneſs, the principal events in the lives of the philoſopher and orator. Ariſtotle, a native of Stagira, came to Athens in his eighteenth year, 367 A. C. There he continued twenty years, as the ſcholar or aſſiſtant of Plato, who died 348 A. C. Ariſtotle left Athens on the death of his maſter, and ſpent three years at Atarneus, and two at Mytelené. From thence he went to Macedon, in the forty-third year of his age, and 343 years A. C. He was employed eight years in the education of Alexander. He returned to Athens 335 A. C., taught twelve years in the Lycæum, and died the year following at Chalcis, ætat. ſixty-three, A. C. 323, and a year after the death of Alexander. Dionyſius ad Ammæum. He reckons by the Archons of Athens; I have ſubſtituted the years before Chriſt.

Yet

CHAP. XXXIII.

Yet the fame of the philoſopher abundantly repays the honour reflected on him by his royal pupil, ſince ſixteen centuries after the ſubverſion of Alexander's empire, the writings of Ariſtotle ſtill maintained an unexampled aſcendant over the opinions, and even over the actions of men.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Philip's Proſperity. — Imprudent Meaſures of the Amphictyonic Council. — The Phocian, or Sacred War. — Philomelus ſeizes the Temple of Delphi. — Takes the Field againſt the Thebans and their Allies. — Defeat and Death of Philomelus. — Affairs of Thrace, Macedon, and Attica. — Onomarchus takes the Command of the Phocians. — Encounters Philip in Theſſaly. — He is defeated and ſlain. — Philip's Deſigns againſt Olynthus and Byzantium. — Traverſed by the Athenians. — Phayllus takes the Command of the Phocians. — Philip marches towards Thermopylæ. — Anticipated by the Athenians. — Demoſthenes's firſt Philippic. — Philip's Occupations at Pella. — His Vices — and Policy.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Proſperity of Philip in the fifth year of his reign. Olymp. cvii. 1. A. C. 356

PHILIP had now reigned almoſt five years. He had greatly enlarged the boundaries he had ſtill more augmented the revenues, of his kingdom. Pæonia, no longer the rival, was become an obſequious province of Macedon. At the expence of Thrace and Illyria, he had extended his frontier on the eaſt to the ſea of Thaſos; on the weſt to the lake Lychnidus. He was maſter of Theſſaly without having the trouble to govern it. He ſecured many commercial advantages by the poſſeſſion of Amphipolis. His troops were numerous

merous and well diſciplined; his large finances were regulated with œconomy; and the mines of Philippi furniſhed him with an annual reſource alike uſeful to his deſigns, whether he purſued the ambitious career of foreign conqueſt, or ſet himſelf to build up and conſolidate the internal grandeur of his dominions. CHAP. XXXIV.

His profound and impenetrable policy.

The power of Philip was admired and feared by thoſe who were unable to penetrate the deep receſſes of his policy, which alone rendered him really formidable. The firſt and moſt natural object of his deſire was the territory of Olynthus, the moſt populous and fertile portion of the Macedonian coaſt. His ſecond and far more arduous purpoſe was to obtain the ſovereignty of Greece. But inſtead of diſcovering theſe deſigns, he had hitherto cultivated the Olynthians with a careful aſſiduity, and had deſerved their gratitude by many ſolid and important ſervices. His ſucceſs had been complete; and if, elated by the many advantages which we have enumerated, he had already prepared to invade Greece, it is more that probable that the Olynthians would have conſented to follow his ſtandard. But Philip was ſenſible, that by ſnatching too eagerly at this valuable prize, he might blaſt for ever his proſpect of obtaining it. While the Athenians were occupied and haraſſed by the deſtructive war with their confederates, he had, indeed, embraced the opportunity to gain poſſeſſion of ſeveral of their dependent ſettlements in Thrace and Macedon; colouring, however, theſe proceedings by the pretence of juſtice or neceſſity, and tempering

CHAP. XXXIV.

pering even his hoſtilities by many partial acts of kindneſs and reſpect. Before the ſocial war was ended, the ſeeds of diſſenſion, ſo profuſely ſcattered in Greece, were likely to ripen into a new quarrel far more general and important. Philip patiently waited their maturity. His hopes were founded on the domeſtic animoſities of Greece; but the unſeaſonable diſcovery of his ſyſtem might have united an hundred thouſand [1] warriors againſt their common enemy; whereas, by the ſecret refinements of a ſlow and ſteady policy, he effected his vaſt purpoſes without being obliged, on any one occaſion, to fight againſt thirty thouſand men.

He carefully watches the imprudent meaſures of the Amphictyonic council;

The Amphictyons having recovered their authority in conſequence of the events which have formerly been deſcribed, began early to diſplay thoſe dangerous paſſions with which the exerciſe of uncontrouled power too naturally corrupts the heart. They pretended, that, during the decline of their juriſdiction, many unwarrantable abuſes had been introduced, which it became them to remedy. The rights of religion (they ſaid), which it was their firſt duty to maintain, had been materially violated by the Phocians, who, alike regardleſs of the deciſion of the oracle, and of an Amphictyonic decree, had ploughed lands conſecrated to Apollo, and therefore

[1] The number is choſen as a very *moderate* medium between the two hundred and twenty thouſand men, afterwards promiſed to Philip in the general convention of the ſtates at Corinth for the ſervice of the Perſian expedition, and the eighty thouſand which the Greeks actually raiſed againſt Xerxes, and which Thucydides ſays, that the Peloponneſian confederacy alone could ſend into Attica.

with-

withdrawn from agriculture [2]. Theſe lands, however, were confined to the narrow diſtrict between the river Cephiſſus and Mount Thurium, on the weſtern frontier of Bœotia. The crime of the Phocians (if their uſeful labours deſerve the name of crime) was neither great nor unprecedented, ſince the Locrians of Amphiſſa had long cultivated the Criſſæan plain; a more extenſive territory, and conſecrated to the god by far more awful ceremonies [3]. But the proud tyranny of the Amphictyons, careleſs of ſuch diſtinctions, fulminated an angry decree againſt Phocis, commanding the ſacred lands to be laid waſte, and impoſing a heavy fine on that community. CHAP. XXXIV.

It is believed that the Thebans, enemies and neighbours to Phocis, and whoſe influence at that time predominated in the council, were the principal abettors of this arbitrary meaſure [4]; a ſuppoſition rendered probable by the enſuing deliberations of the Amphictyons. Their next ſentence was directed againſt Sparta, to puniſh the injury of Phæbidas, who, in time of peace, had ſurpriſed and ſeized the Theban citadel. This breach of public faith, however criminal and flagrant, had been committed ſo many years before, that prudence required it to be for ever buried in obſcurity. But, at the inſtigation of the Thebans, the Amphictyons brought it once more to light; commanded the Lacedæmonians to pay a fine of five hundred talents; decreed that the fine ſhould be

which are principally abetted by the Thebans;

[2] See vol. i. c. v. p. 224.
[3] See vol. i. c. v. p. 22, & ſeqq.
[4] Juſtin. l. viii. c. i. & ſeqq.

doubled,

CHAP. XXXIV.

doubled, unleſs paid within an appointed time; and, if the decree were finally diſregarded, that the Lacedæmonians ſhould be treated as public enemies to Greece [s].

who excite the reſentment of the Phocians. Olymp. cv. 4. A. C. 357.

The Phocians, ſingled out as the firſt victims of oppreſſion, were deeply affected by their danger. To pay the money demanded of them, exceeded their faculties. It would be grievous to deſolate the fields which their own hands had cultivated with ſo much toil. The commands of the Amphictyons were indeed peremptory; but that council had not on foot any ſufficient force to render them effectual, ſhould the devoted objects of their vengeance venture to diſpute their authority. This meaſure, daring as it ſeemed, was ſtrongly recommended by Philomelus, whoſe popular eloquence and raſh valour gave him a powerful aſcendant in Phocis. He poſſeſſed great hereditary wealth; contemned the national ſuperſtition; and being endowed with a bold ambitious ſpirit, he expected to riſe amidſt the tumult of action and danger, to unrivalled pre eminence in his republic. After repeated deliberations, in which he flattered the vanity, and tempted the avarice of his countrymen, by proving, that to them of right belonged the guardianſhip of the Delphian temple, and the immenſe treaſures contained within its ſacred walls [t], he brought the

[s] Diodor. l. xvi. c. xxiii. & ſeqq

[t] Philomelus cited the reſpectable authority of Homer:

Αι τοι Φωκεων Σχεδιος και Επιστροφος ηρχον,
Οι Κυπαρισσον ειχον Πυθωνα τε πετρηεσσαν.

"But Schedius and Epiſtrophus led the Phocians, who inhabited Cypariſſus, and the rocky Python," the ancient name of Delphi.

majority

majority of the ſenate and aſſembly into his opinion. As the propereſt inſtrument to execute his own meaſures, Philomelus was named general: the Phocian youth flocked to his ſtandard; and his private fortune, as well as the public revenues were conſumed in purchaſing the mercenary aid of thoſe needy adventurers who abounded in every province of Greece.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Phocians under Philomelus prepare for war and [illegible]ge the [illegible]ans in their [illegible]p. 1. A.C.

The following year was employed by Philomelus in providing arms, in exerciſing his troops, and in an embaſſy which he undertook in perſon to Sparta. As that community had not diſcharged the fine impoſed by the Amphictyons, the penalty was doubled, the delinquents being condemned to pay a thouſand talents. The exhorbitance of this impoſition might have juſtified the Spartans in following the example of Phocis, and ſetting the Amphictyons at defiance. But Archidamus, who poſſeſſed all the caution and addreſs of his father Ageſilaus, was unwilling to take a principal part in the firſt dangerous experiment, and to poſt himſelf in the front of battle, againſt the revered decrees of an aſſembly, conſidered as the legal guardian of national religion and liberty. He aſſured Philomelus that both himſelf and the Spartans fully approved his cauſe; that reaſons of a temporary nature hindered their declaring themſelves openly, but that he might depend on ſecret ſupplies of men and money [7].

[7] Ὁ δε Αρχιδαμος αποδεξαμενος τον λογον, φανερως μεν, κατο το παρον, ουκ εφησε βοηθησειν, λαθρα δε παντα συμπραξειν, χορηγων και χρηματα και μισθοφορους. Diodor. l. xvi. p. 426.

Encou-

CHAP. XXXIV.

Philomelus seizes the temple of Delphi. Olymp. cvi. 2. A. C. 355.

Encouraged by this assurance, and by a considerable sum[8] immediately put into his hands, Philomelus, at his return, ventured on a measure not less audacious than unexpected. The temple of Delphi, so awfully guarded by superstition, was scarcely defended by any military force. Philomelus, having prepared the imagination of his followers for this bold enterprise, immediately conducted them towards Delphi, defeated the feeble resistance of the Thracidæ, who inhabited the neighbouring district, and entered the sacred city with the calm intrepidity of a conqueror. The Delphians, who expected no mercy from a man devoid of respect for religion, prepared themselves in silent horror, for beholding the complicated guilt of sacrilege and murder. But the countenance of Philomelus re-assured them, and his discourse totally dispelled their ill-grounded fears. He declared that he had come to Delphi, with no hostile disposition against the inhabitants, with no sacrilegious designs against the temple. His principal motive was to emancipate the one and the other from the arbitary proceedings of the Amphictyons, and to assert the ancient and unalienable prerogative of Phocis to be the patron and protector of the Delphian shrine. To the same purpose he scattered declarations through the different republics of Greece; his emissaries acquainted the Spartans that he had destroyed the brazen tablets containing the unjust decrees against Sparta and Phocis; they inflamed the resentment of the Athenians, naturally

[8] Diodorus (l. xvi. p. 426.) says fifteen talents.

hoſtile to Thebes; and both thoſe republics came to the reſolution of ſupporting the meaſures of Philomelus. CHAP. XXXIV.

The Thebans, on the other hand, who *directed*, and the Locrians, Theſſalians, with other ſtates of leſs conſideration, who tamely *obeyed* the decrees of the Amphictyons, determined to take the field in defence of their inſulted religion and violated laws. Their operations were conducted with that extreme ſlowneſs natural to confederacies. Philomelus acted with more vigour. He received little aſſiſtance from his diſtant allies. But, firſt, by impoſing a heavy tax on the Delphians, who had been enriched by the devotion of Greece, and then, notwithſtanding his declaration, by taking very undue liberties with the treaſure of Apollo [9], he collected above ten thouſand mercenaries, men daring and profligate as himſelf, who ſacrificed all ſcruples of religion to the hopes of dividing a rich ſpoil. Such at leaſt was the general character of his followers. To the few who had more piety, or leſs avarice, he endeavoured to juſtify his meaſures by the authority of an oracle. The Pythia at firſt refuſed to mount the ſacred tripod. Philomelus ſternly commanded her. She obeyed with reluctance, obſerving, that being already maſter of Delphi, he might act without ſanction or controul [10]. Philomelus waited for no other anſwer, but gladly interpreted the words as an acknowledgment of his

Employs the ſacred treaſure in raiſing mercenaries.

[9] Diodorus ſometimes acknowledges, and ſometimes denies, that Philomelus meddled with the ſacred treaſure.

[10] Αποφθεγξαμενης δ' αυτης προς την υπεροχην τω βιαζομενω "ὅτι εξεστι αυτω πραττειν ὁ θελεται. Diodor. p. 428.

abſolute

CHAP. XXXIV.

absolute authority; and, with the address suitable to his situation and character, confirmed the auspicious declaration of the priestess by the report of many favourable omens [11].

Takes the field against the Thebans and their allies. Olymp. cvi. 2. A. C. 355.

Having obtained the supposed sanction of religion, Philomelus proceeded to fortify the temple and city of Delphi, in which he placed a strong garrison; and, with the remainder of his forces, boldly marched forth to repel the incursions of the enemy. During two years, hostilities were carried on with various fortune against the Locrians and Thebans. Victory for the most part inclined to the Phocians; but there happened not any decisive action, nor was the war memorable on any other account but that of the excessive cruelty mutually inflicted and suffered. The Phocian prisoners were uniformly condemned to death, as wretches convicted of the most abominable sacrilege and impiety; and the resentment of their countrymen retaliated with equal severity on the unhappy captives whom the chance of war frequently put into their hands [12].

Philomelus defeated. Olymp. cvi. 4. A. C. 353.

As both armies anxiously expected reinforcements, they were unwilling to risk a general engagement, till chance rendered that measure unavoidable. Entangled among the woods and mountains of Phocis, the conveniency of forage attracted them towards the same point. The vanguards met unexpectedly near the town of Neonè, and began to skirmish. A general and fierce action followed, in which the Phocians were repelled

[11] Diodor p. 429.

[12] Ibid. p. 530, & seqq.

by

CHAP. XXXIV.

by ſuperior numbers. Pathleſs woods, abrupt rocks and precipices, obſtructed their retreat. In vain Philomelus ſtrove with his voice and arm to rally the fugitives. He himſelf was carried along by the torrent to the brow of a precipice, afflicted with wounds, and ſtill more with anguiſh and deſpair. The enemy advanced; it ſeemed impoſſible to eſcape their vengeance; the reſolution of Philomelus was prompt and terrible; with a vigorous bound he ſprang from the rock, thus eluding the torment of his own guilty conſcience, and the reſentment of his purſuers [13]. While the Thebans and allies admired this cataſtrophe as a manifeſt viſitation of divine vengeance [14], Onomarchus, the lieutenant and brother of the Phocian general, collected and drew off the ſcattered remains of the vanquiſhed army towards Delphi. The confederates determined to expel them from that holy place, and to inflict on the enemies of Greece and Heaven a puniſhment ſimilar to that to which the wrath of Apollo had driven the impious Philomelus [15].

The Spartans attempt to recover their dominion in

Different cauſes concurred to prevent Philip on the one hand, and Athens and Sparta on the other, from taking a principal or early part in the Phocian war. The intereſted policy of Archidamus,

[13] Diodorus hints, that had Philomelus been taken captive, his body would have been ſhockingly mangled: φοβαρειος την εκ της αιχμαλωσιας αικιαν. p. 432.

[14] Such it appeared to future hiſtorians: και τουτο τον τροπον, ειπ, τω δαιμονιω δικας καταστρεψε τον βιον. Diodor. ibid.

[15] Diodor. l. xvi. p. 437.

CHAP. XXXIV.

who directed with abſolute authority the councils of Sparta, was leſs anxious to ſupport the arms of his diſtant confederates, than ſolicitous to recover the Lacedæmonian dominion in Peloponneſus. The opportunity ſeemed favourable for this purpoſe, the Thebans being deeply engaged in another conteſt, and the Athenians in ſtrict alliance with Sparta. For ſeveral years, the arms and intrigues of Archidamus were employed againſt the Meſſenians, Arcadians, and Argives. But his ambitious deſign failed of ſucceſs: the inferior cities of Peloponneſus, rouſed by a common danger, confederated for their mutual defence; and Athens, though actually the ally of Sparta, was unwilling to abandon to the tyranny of that republic her more ancient and faithful allies, the Arcadians and Meſſenians [16].

the Peloponneſus. Olymp. cvi. 3. A. C. 353.

While the politics of the Peloponneſus formed a ſyſtem apart, the ſacred war ſhook the centre of Greece, and the affairs of Thrace occupied Philip and the Athenians. Cotys was dead; his ſons, Kerſobleptes, Beriſades, and Amadocus, were all diſſatisfied with the partition of his dominions. While their hoſtilities againſt each other exhibited the odious picture of fraternal diſcord, the prizes, for which they contended, were ſucceſſively carried off by Philip. The encroachments of that prince

The affairs of Thrace occupy Philip and the Athenians.

[16] The queſtion appears to have occaſioned warm debates in the Athenian aſſembly: the Spartan and Arcadian parties were animated with the utmoſt zeal; and, according to Demoſthenes, the Athenian orators, had they not ſpoke the Attic dialect, would have appeared, the one half Spartans, the other Arcadians. Demoſthen. pro Meſſop. p. 83.

at

CHAP. XXXIV.

at length engaged Kerſobleptes, the moſt powerful of the co-heirs, to cede the Thracian Cherſoneſus to the Athenians, who ſent Chares with a numerous fleet to take poſſeſſion of that peninſula. The town of Seſtos alone made reſiſtance. It was taken by ſtorm, and treated with great ſeverity by Chares; while Philip beſieged and took the far more important city of Methoné in Pieria. In this ſiege he loſt an eye, a loſs which he is ſaid to have borne with the more impatience [17], as the circumſtances attending it were alike diſhonourable to his judgment and humanity [18].

Onomarchus takes the command of the Phocians. Olymp. cvi. 4. A. C. 353.

It appears extraordinary that the Thebans, after the defeat and death of Philomelus, ſhould not have purſued their good fortune, without allowing the enemy time to breathe and recover ſtrength. They probably imagined that the fatal exit of that daring chief would deter a ſucceſſor; and that the

[17] Lucian de Scribend. Hiſt. p. 765.

[18] Theſe circumſtances, however, reſt on the authority of Suidas and Ulpian. It is ſaid, that when the arrow was extracted, the following inſcription appeared on it: "After to Philip's right eye." After, it ſeems, had offered his ſervices to Philip, as an excellent markſman; to which Philip replied, that he would employ him when he waged war with ſtarlings. Philip cauſed the arrow to be ſhot back into the place, with a new inſcription, "That he would hang up After;" a threat which was executed as ſoon as he became maſter of Methoné. Fictions ſtill more incredible were related on this ſubject, by the fabulous writers of the age of Alexander. Philip, it was ſaid, loſt his right eye through unſeaſonable curioſity in prying into the amours of Olympias and Jupiter Ammon. This ridiculous flattery to Alexander had been ſo widely diffuſed, that it was ſuppoſed to be the ſubject repreſented on the celebrated vaſe, which is ſo much better explained by Mr. D'Hancarville. See Recherches ſur les Arts de la Grèce, vol. ii.

Phocians

CHAP. XXXIV.

Phocians would crave peace, if not driven to deſpair. Such indeed was the reſolution of the more reſpectable part of the Phocians. But the bold, impious, and needy, who compoſed the moſt numerous deſcription of that people, were bent on continuing the war. An aſſembly was convened, when Onomarchus, in a ſet ſpeech [19], flattered their hopes, and encouraged them to perſevere. His opinion prevailed; he was named general; and his conduct ſoon proved, that he equalled his brother in boldneſs and ambition, and ſurpaſſed him in activity and enterpriſe. None better knew the power of gold, or had more addreſs in employing it. With the Delphic treaſure he coined ſuch a quantity of money as perhaps had never before circulated in Greece. The Phocian army was reſtored and augmented; their allies were rendered more hearty in their cauſe; even their enemies were not proof againſt the temptations which continually aſſailed their fidelity. By ſeaſonable bribes, Onomarchus diſtracted the councils of Thebes, and kept their arms inactive. The neighbouring ſtates were perſuaded to obſerve a neutrality while the Theſſalians, a people at all times noted for avarice and fraud [20], and of whoſe country

[19] Πεφροντισμενον λογον διελθων. Diodor. p. 432.

[20] The Theſſalians had the ſame character in Greece, as the Ligurians in Italy:

Vane Ligus——

Nequicquam patrias tentâſti lubricus artes. VIRG.

Euripides ſpeaks of the ſlippery deceits of the Theſſalians. Demoſthenes (Olynth. i. p. 4. ex edit. Wolf.) ſays, ειτα τα των Θεττα λων· ταυτα γαρ απιστα μεν ην δη που φυσει, και αιει πασι ανθρωποις. "Philip was farther diſtreſſed by the inſurrections of the Theſſalians, a people faithleſs by nature, at all times, to all men."

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the proverb ſaid, that it had never produced a bad horſe or an honeſt man, openly embraced the cauſe of Phocis. CHAP. XXXIV.

Succeſs of his arms.

Theſe multiplied advantages were not allowed to languiſh in the hands of Onomarchus, who hoped to drown the unjuſt motives of his enterpriſe in the ſudden tide of victory. At the head of a numerous and well-appointed army, he poured down on Locris and Doris, ravaged the country, took Thronium by ſtorm, laid ſeveral cities under contribution, penetrated into Bœotia, and made himſelf maſter of Orchomenus. The Thebans aſſembled their forces to ſtem the torrent. Onomarchus firſt met with a repulſe before the walls of Chæronæa, and ventured not to renew the engagement, having weakened his forces by placing garriſons in the important places which he had taken, as well as by ſending a detachment of ſeven thouſand men, under his brother Phayllus, into Theſſaly [21].

He encounters Philip in Theſſaly, and obliges him to retire.

In that country, the intrigues of Philip had counteracted the gold of Onomarchus. But Lycophron, who was the chief partiſan of the latter, and whom Philip had formerly diveſted of his uſurped power, had again eſtabliſhed himſelf in Pheræ. Pegaſæ, Magneſia, and ſeveral places of leſs note, declared for the tyrant, and for Phocis. The Macedonian intereſt prevailed elſewhere; and the factions were equally balanced, when Philip, with his uſual celerity, entered Theſſaly, defeated Phayllus, be-

[21] Diodor. p. 434.

CHAP. XXXIV.

ſieged and took Pegaſæ, and drove the enemy with diſgrace towards the frontier of Phocis. The fear of loſing his newly-acquired intereſt among the Theſſalians, made Onomarchus evacuate Boeotia, and advance againſt Philip with his whole army. The Macedonians, though leſs numerous, did not decline the engagement. At the firſt charge the Phocians gave way, and retreated towards the neighbouring mountains. Philip ordered his men to purſue in their ranks. It was then that the Phocians really began the battle. Onomarchus foreſeeing that the Macedonians would follow in cloſe order, had poſted a detachment on the ſummit of the precipice, who were ready, on a giving ſignal, to roll down fragments of rock, and ſtones of an enormus ſize, on the embattled phalanx. This was the only mode of attack for which the Macedonians were not prepared. The line of march, in which the moment before they proceeded with ſuch firmneſs and confidence, was converted into a dreadful ſcene of carnage and ruin. Before they recovered from their conſternation, the flying Phocians, who had decoyed them into this ambuſh, returned to the charge. Philip, however, rallied his men; and while Onomarchus heſitated to advance, drew them off in good order, ſaying that they did not retreat through fear, but retired like rams, in order to ſtrike with more impetuous vigour [a].

Onomarchus defeated and ſlain.

This ſaying was finally juſtified, although the Phocians and Lycophron firſt enjoyed a ſhort

[a] Polyæn. Stratag. l. ii. c. xxviii. Diodor. l. xvi. 34. & ſeqq.

triumph. The tyrant eſtabliſhed himſelf, as he thought, ſecurely, in his native city; the Phocians, reinforced by their Theſſalian allies, again invaded Bœotia, aſſaulted and took Coronæa, and dreadfully alarmed the Thebans, by the devaſtations committed in the very centre of their territory. But the time of vengeance arrived. Philip, having recruited his army, returned into Theſſaly. The unſteady partiſans of Lycophron, had they determined to ſhare his danger, would have proved unable to ſupport his cauſe. A conſiderable portion of the Theſſalians received the King of Macedon as their deliverer. Onomarchus was thus obliged to withdraw his forces from Bœotia. At the head of twenty thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, he marched to the defence of Lycophron, and was met by the enemy, ſtill more numerous, on the level coaſt of Magneſia. To remind his ſoldiers that they fought in the cauſe of Delphi and of Heaven, Philip crowned their heads with the laurel conſecrated to Apollo, and adorned his enſigns and ſtandards with the emblems and attributes of that divinity [23]. Their onſet was impetuous and fierce, and their valour, animated by enthuſiaſm, rendered them irreſiſtible, though the enemy, conſcious of guilt, fought with the fury of deſpair. Three thouſand Theſſalian cavalry, who had ſignally contributed to the victory of Philip, rendered the purſuit bloody and deſtructive; while the Phocians, having thrown away their armour, fled towards the ſea, allured

CHAP. XXXIV.

[23] Juſtin. l. viii. 2.

CHAP. XXXIV.

by the fight of the Athenian fleet under Chares, which was returning from the Cherſoneſus. That commander ſeems not to have made any attempt to protect them. Above ſix thouſand periſhed in the battle, or in the purſuit. The body of Onomarchus was found among the ſlain; Philip ordered it to be hung on a gibbet, as a mark of peculiar infamy; the reſt were thrown into the ſea, as unworthy, by their impious ſacrilege, of the rites of funeral. Three thouſand were taken alive; but it is not abſolutely certain whether they were drowned, or reduced into captivity; though the latter opinion is the more probable [24].

Philip's deſigns againſt Olynthus and Byzantium.

It might be expected that ſuch a deciſive blow ſhould have proved fatal to the Phocians. But Philip, who had conquered them in Theſſaly, durſt not purſue his advantages by invading Phocis;

[24] The leaving ſuch a circumſtance at all doubtful, is very diſhonourable to the accuracy of Diodorus. His words are τελος δε, των Φωκεων και μισθοφορων ανηρεθησαν μεν υπερ τους εξακισχιλιους, εν οις ην και αυτος ὁ στρατηγος. ηλωσαν δε ουκ ελαττους των τρισχιλιων. ὁ δε Φιλιππος τον μεν Ονομαρχον εκρεμασεν, τους δε αλλους ὡς ιεροσυλους κατεποντισε. Literally, "At length above ſix thouſand of the Phocians and mercenaries were, on the one hand, taken up *dead*, among whom was the general. Not leſs than three thouſand were, on the other hand, taken priſoners. Philip hung up Onomarchus, and threw the reſt into the ſea, as guilty of ſacrilege." The learned reader will perceive, that I have given the full force of the word ανηρεθησαν: and from the preciſe and diſtinctive force of the particles μεν and δε, which ſeparate the two firſt clauſes of the text, I am of opinion that the των αλλων can apply only to the reſt of thoſe who were taken up dead. There is nothing determinate to be learned from the word κατεποντισεν, which ſignifies barely to plunge into the ſea.

well

CHAP. XXXIV.

well knowing that an attempt to paſs the ſtraits of Thermopylæ would alarm not only his enemies but his allies. It was his intereſt to perpetuate diſſenſions in Greece. For that reaſon he fomented the diſcord that reigned among the ſtates of Peloponneſus; and though he had puniſhed the obnoxious Phocians, he was unwilling to terminate a war which diverted the public attention from watching too ſtudiouſly his own ambitious deſigns. His victory over an odious enemy extended his juſt renown. He ſecured the dominion of Theſſaly, by planting garriſons in Pheræ, Pegaſæ, and Magneſia. His army was ready to march towards Greece on the firſt favourable opportunity; but till this ſhould arrive, he rejoiced to ſee both diviſions of that country involved in hoſtilities, which allowed him to accompliſh, unmoleſted, his leſſer preparatory purpoſes. He had long deceived the Olynthians by good offices and promiſes, but now began to throw off the maſk, and to ſhow that he meant to be their maſter. He actually applied to Kerſobleptes, whom he detached from the intereſt of Athens; and having raiſed him on the ruins of the neighbouring chieftains of Thrace, thereby obtained his confidence, and waited an occaſion to deſtroy him with ſecurity [25]. The dominions of that prince opened the way to Byzantium, the poſſeſſion of which muſt have early tempted the ambition of Philip, who knew ſo well to eſtimate the importance of its ſituation both in commerce and in war. He began

[25] Juſtin, l. viii. 3. Demoſth. Olynth. 2 and 3.

to

CHAP. XXXIV.

to diſcover his deſigns againſt Byzantium by attacking the fortreſs of Heræum, a place ſo called from the neighbouring temple of Juno, which formed its principal ornament. The town of Heræum was ſmall, and in itſelf unimportant; its harbour was dangerous and deceitful; but being ſituate contiguous to Byzantium, it ſerved as an outwork and defence to that rich and populous city [26].

The Athenians had ſufficient penetration to diſcern the drift of thoſe enterpriſes. They formed an alliance with the republic of Olynthus; they warned Kerſobleptes of his danger; they voted a numerous fleet to ſail to the defence of Heræum, or rather of Byzantium, with which, though rendered independent of Athens by the ſocial war, they ſtill carried on a lucrative commerce. But theſe ſpirited exertions were not of long continuance. Philip's wound at Methone, together with the continual labour and fatigue to which he had afterwards ſubmitted, threw him into a dangerous malady. The report of his ſickneſs was, before it reached Athens, magnified into his death. The Athenians rejoiced in ſo ſeaſonable a deliverance, and laying aſide their naval preparations, bent their principal attention to the ſacred war [27].

The Phocian or ſacred war continued by Phayllus.

That unhappy conteſt was renewed by Phayllus, the laſt ſurviving brother of Philomelus and Onomarchus. As his cauſe became more deſperate, Phayllus availed himſelf to the utmoſt of the only

[26] Juſtin. l. viii. 3. Demoſth. Olynth. 2 and 3. [27] Idem, ubi ſupra.

reſource

CHAP. XXXIV.

resource which was left him. Having converted into ready money the most precious dedications of Delphi, he doubled the pay of his mercenaries. This extraordinary encouragement brought new adventurers to his standard, and soon rendered his army equal to that of either of his predecessors. The fugitive Thessalians, assembled in a body by Lycophron, entered into his pay. By means of the Delphic treasure, he acquired, likewise, the public assistance of a thousand Lacedæmonians, two thousand Achæans, five thousand Athenian foot, with four hundred cavalry. These powerful reinforcements enabled the Phocians to take the field with a good prospect of success, and rendered those who had so lately been the objects of pity, again formidable to their enemies[28].

Olymp. cviii. 1. A. C. 352.

Philip, meanwhile, had recovered from his indisposition. The votes and preparations of the Athenians had taught him that his designs could no longer be concealed. He was acquainted with the alliance formed between that republic and Olynthus. His emissaries gave him intelligence of the actual commotions in Greece, where the countenance and assistance of so many powerful states abetted the sacrilege of the Phocians. The occasion required that he should appear in favour of his allies, and in defence of the pious cause which he had formerly maintained with so much glory. His trophies gained over Onomarchus were still fresh and blooming; and not only the Thebans,

Philip, in order to oppose him, marches towards Thermopylæ.

[28] Diodor. p. 436.

Dorians,

CHAP. XXXIV.

Dorians, and Locrians, who were principals in the war, but the ſincere votaries of Apollo in every quarter of Greece, ſecretly expected him as their deliverer: while his enemies admired his piety and trembled at his valour; and as they had been lately amuſed with the news of his ſickneſs and death, they would now view with religious terror his unexpected appearance at Thermopylæ, to aſſert the violated rights of the Delphian temple. Such were the hopes and motives on which Philip, at the head of a numerous army, directed his march [29] towards thoſe celebrated ſtraits.

This meaſure alarms the Athenians,

But the event ſhewed, that on this occaſion he had made a falſe eſtimate of the ſuperſtition or timidity of the Greeks, and particularly had built too much on the patience and indolence of the Athenians. That people penetrated his deſigns, and determined to oppoſe them. Under the veil of religious zeal, they doubted not that he concealed the deſire to invade and conquer their country; and, on the firſt intelligence of his expedition, their foreſight and patriotiſm repreſented the Macedonians, Theſſalians, and Thebans, pouring down like a deſtructive inundation, on Attica and Peloponneſus. With an alacrity and ardour, of which there was no recent example in their councils, they flew to arms, launched their fleet, ſailed to Thermopylæ, and took poſſeſſion of the ſtraits [30].

who ſail to Thermopylæ, and guard the ſtraits.

[29] Diodor. l. xvi. p. 437.

[30] Demoſthen. de Falſa Legat. ſect. 29.

Never

CHAP. XXXIV.

Never did Philip meet with a more cruel diſappointment, than in being thus anticipated by a people whom he had ſo often deceived. He retired with deep regret, leaving the Phocian war to be carried on by the Thebans and their allies. Meanwhile, the Athenians placed a guard at Thermopylæ; and elated by the firſt inſtance of their ſucceſs againſt the Macedonian, called an aſſembly to deliberate on meaſures proper to reſtrain his ambition.

Philip returns in diſappointment.

This aſſembly is rendered memorable by the firſt appearance of Demoſthenes againſt Philip, whoſe meaſures from this moment he ceaſed not to watch and to counteract. Two years before, this illuſtrious orator, whoſe works have been more praiſed than read, and more read than underſtood, began, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, to appear on the theatre of public life. The Athenians were then involved in the ſacred war; their northern poſſeſſions were continually inſulted, plundered, or conquered by Philip; yet in this ſituation of affairs, the mercenary partiſans of that prince, in order to divert the public attention from his too aſpiring deſigns, affected to extend their views to Aſia, and to be alarmed by the motions of Artaxerxes Ochus, who was preparing to reduce the rebels of Cyprus, Egypt, and Phœnicia. In every aſſembly of the people, the creatures of Philip dwelt, with exaggerated terror, on the naval and military preparations of the Great King, which they repreſented as certainly deſtined to revenge the recent injuries committed by the Athenian troops, under Chares, on the coaſt of Aſia. The trophies

Demoſthenes's firſt appearance againſt Philip.

of

CHAP. XXXIV.

of Miltiades, Themiſtocles, and Cimon, were adorned with all the pomp of eloquence; and the Athenians were exhorted to imitate thoſe memorable exploits of their anceſtors in the Perſian war, which ſhed a luſtre on all the ſucceeding periods of their hiſtory.

Sentiment of the wiſeſt Athenians reſpecting this prince.

In this popular enthuſiaſm joined Iſocrates the orator, together with the ſtateſman and general Phocion, two men whoſe talents and virtues would have done honour to the moſt illuſtrious age of the republic. The unblemiſhed integrity of Iſocrates, the diſintereſted poverty of Phocion, afford ſufficient proof that neither of theſe great men were corrupted by Macedonian gold. But they both perceived that the indolence and unſteadineſs of Athens were incapable of contending with the unceaſing activity of Philip, and both exhorted their countrymen to gain and cultivate the friendſhip of a prince, againſt whom they could not make war with any reaſonable proſpect of ſucceſs.

Thoſe of Iſocrates in particular.

Iſocrates, from the moſt accurate and extenſive ſurvey of the political hiſtory of Greece, diſcovered that a foreign war alone could heal the domeſtic diſſenſions which reigned in every quarter of that divided country; and, from a thorough knowledge of the inherent defects in the government of Thebes, Athens, and Sparta, he regarded Macedon as the ſtate, and Philip as the general, beſt entitled, and beſt qualified, to aſſume the command of a military expedition into Aſia, to revenge ancient wrongs, and to deliver the Grecian colonies from the actual oppreſſion of Barbarians.

On

CHAP. XXXIV.

On this important ſubject he addreſſed a diſcourſe to Philip; he repeatedly inſiſted on the ſame topic in writings addreſſed the Athenians; and it is obſcurely related, that on one occaſion he reconciled thoſe hoſtile powers [31], and engaged them to concur in this extenſive yet rational ſcheme of conqueſt.

The peculiar views of Demoſthenes

The ſentiments and views of Demoſthenes were equally different from thoſe of Iſocrates and Phocion on the one hand, and from thoſe of the infamous hirelings of Philip on the other. None knew better than he did the corruption and degeneracy of his countrymen; but he hoped to rouſe them from their lethargy; a deſign, arduous as it may ſeem, ſometimes effected by his eloquence, the moſt powerful, glowing, and ſublime, ever employed by man: and which, of all men, he had been at moſt pains to acquire and cultivate [32]. His imagination was filled with the ancient glory of the republic; in the ardour of patriotiſm he forgot the moderation of philoſophy; and while he ſternly maintained the prerogatives and pretenſions of his country, he would rather have ſeen Athens defeated at the head of her allies, than victorious under the ſtandard of the Macedonians, or any ſtandard but her own. With ſuch ſentiments and character, he was naturally a favourite of the people, and a warm partiſan of popular government; while Phocion, like moſt men of ſenſe and worth in that age, preferred a moderate ariſto-

[31] See the life of Iſocrates, prefixed to my tranſlation of his works.

[32] Dionyſ. Halicarn. & Plut. de Demoſt.

cracy;

CHAP. XXXIV.

cracy; and Iſocrates was inclined to regard a well-regulated monarchy as the beſt of all governments [33].

appears in public orations.

In his firſt ſpeeches before the aſſembly, Demoſtenes announced himſelf as the miniſter of the people at large, whom he exhorted to awaken from their indolence, and at length to aſſume the direction of their own affairs. They had been too long governed by the incapacity of a few ambitious men, to the great detriment and diſgrace of the community. Firſt an orator at the head of all, under him a general, abetted by three or four hundred obſequious partizans, availed themſelves of the ſloth and negligence of a people careleſs of every thing but pleaſure, to domineer in the public councils, and to become maſters of the ſtate. From conſiderations of their preſent corruption and weakneſs, as well as of the deſigns and commotions of neighbouring powers, he adviſed them to forſake all diſtant and romantic ſchemes of ambition: and, inſtead of carrying their arms into remote countries, to prepare for repelling the attacks that might be made againſt their own dominions: he inſiſted earneſtly on a better regulation of their finances, on the retrenching of many ſuperfluous branches of expence, and eſpecially on a more equitable repartition of public burdens, in proportion to the fortunes of individuals; which, though the income of the ſtate had dwindled to four hundred talents, were actually more conſiderable than at any former period. While the rich cheerfully paid

[33] See his Nicocles, Evagoras, &c.

their

their contributions, the poor muſt be willing to forego the burdenſome gratuities which they derived from the treaſury; and all muſt be ready to take the field in perſon, that the public ſervice might be no longer betrayed, or diſgraced, by ſtrangers and mercenaries [34]. CHAP. XXXIV.

His firſt Philippic.

Subſequent events juſtified the opinions, and enforced the counſels of Demoſthenes. The Athenians were delivered from their ill-grounded fears of Artaxerxes Ochus, when they beheld the preparations of that monarch directed againſt his rebellious ſubjects. The encroachments of Philip became continually more daring and more formidable; and his recent attempts to ſeize the ſtraits of Thermopylæ ſhewed the neceſſity of oppoſing him with re-united vigilance and vigour.

In this juncture, ſo favourable to awakening the activity of Athens, Demoſthenes mounted the roſtrum [35] before any other orator, apologiſing for this forwardneſs in a man not yet thirty years of age, by obſerving, "That already the uſual ſpeakers had given their opinions on the ſubject of Philip; and that, had *their* advices been uſeful and practicable, they muſt have precluded the neceſſity of any farther deliberation. Firſt of all, Athenians; you ought not to deſpair; no! not although your affairs ſeem indeed involved in equal confuſion and danger. For the ſame circumſtance which is

[34] Vid. Oration. de Claſſibus, & de Ordinand. Republic.

[35] I have uſed that word, becauſe adopted in our language to expreſs the βῆμα, that is the pulpit or gallery, appropriated to the ſpeakers in the Athenian aſſembly.

CHAP. XXXIV.

the cauſe of your paſt misfortunes, ought to furniſh the ſource of your preſent hope. What is that? Your own negligence and ſloth, not the power of your enemies, have diſordered the ſtate. Had your diſtreſs ariſen, notwithſtanding your utmoſt care to prevent it, there would then be little hope of relief; but ſince it is occaſioned by your own miſconduct, you need only repair your errors, in order to retrieve your affairs. Conſidering the weakneſs of Athens, thus deſpoiled of her dominions, and the ſtrength of Philip, which has increaſed immoderately at our expence, ſhould you think him a formidable enemy, you doubtleſs think aright. Yet reflect, Athenians! that there was a time when *we* poſſeſſed Pydna, Potidæa, Methoné, and all the ſurrounding territory; that the nations in that neighbourhood, now ſubject to Philip, were then independent, and preferred the alliance of Athens to that of Macedon. In the infancy of his fortune, had Philip reaſoned, timidly as we do now, 'How ſhall I, deſtitute of allies, attack the Athenians, whoſe garriſons command my frontier?' he would not have engaged in thoſe enterpriſes which have been crowned with ſuch ſignal ſucceſs, nor raiſed his kingdom to ſuch an unexampled pitch of grandeur. No, Athenians! he knew well, that towns and fortreſſes are but prizes of ſkill and valour [36]

[36] Αλλ' οιδεν, ω ανδρες Αθηναιοι, τουτο καλως εκεινος, ὁτι ταυτα μεν εστι ἁπαντα τα χωρια αθλα τες πολεμου κειμενα εν μεσῳ. In ancient times the figure had more force as well as dignity; becauſe at the Olympic and other ſacred games, the ſpectators were uſed to behold the prizes propoſed to the victors, κειμενα εν μεσῳ, expoſed in the middle of the field, to excite their emulation and ardour. See vol. i. c. v.

propoſed

CHAP. XXXIV.

propoſed to the combatants, and belong of right to the conqueror; that the dominions of the abſent are ſeized by thoſe who take the field, and the poſſeſſions of the negligent and ſlothful become the rewards of vigilance and vigour. Guided by theſe maxims he has ſubdued and governs all; holding ſome communities by right of conqueſt, and others under the title of allies: for allies no prince nor ſtate can want, who are not wanting to themſelves. But ſhould you, Athenians! imitate the example of Philip, and at length, rouſing from your lethargy, apply ſeriouſly to your intereſt, you would ſpeedily recover thoſe advantages which your negligence only has loſt. Favourable occaſions will yet occur; for you muſt not imagine that Philip, like a god, holds his proſperity for ever fixed and immutable [47]. No, Athenians! there are who hate him, who fear him, who envy him, even among thoſe ſeemingly the moſt devoted to his cauſe. Theſe are univerſal paſſions, from which the allies of Macedon are not, ſurely, exempted. They have hitherto concealed them, finding no reſource in you; but it depends on your councils to call them into action. When, therefore, O my countrymen! when will you exert your vigour? when rouſed by ſome event—when urged by ſome neceſſity—What can be more urgent than the preſent juncture? To freemen, the moſt neceſſary of all mo-

[47] The original is inimitable: μη γαρ ὡς θεῳ νομιζετ' εκεινῳ τα παροντα πεπηγεναι πραγματα αθανατα. Join the τα and the πραγματα, the article and the ſubſtantive, and the charm will be diſſolved.

CHAP. XXXIV.

tives is the ſhame of miſconduct. Or, ſay, will it ſtill be your ſole buſineſs to ſaunter in the public place, inquiring after news? What can be more new, than that a Macedonian ſhould conquer Athens, and enſlave Greece? Is Philip dead? No, but in great danger. How are you concerned in theſe rumours? What matters it to you whether he is ſick or dead, ſince, if you thus manage your affairs, your folly will ſoon raiſe up another Philip [33]?"

Meaſures propoſed by Demoſthenes for reſiſting Philip.

After this animated remonſtrance, Demoſthenes propoſes a plan of operations calculated chiefly for defence. The Athenians, he obſerves, were not yet prepared to meet Philip in the field. They muſt begin by protecting Olynthus, and the Cherſoneſus, from his incurſions. For this purpoſe, it was neceſſary to raiſe a body of two thouſand men light-armed, and an adequate proportion of cavalry, which were to be tranſported, under a proper convoy (as Philip had his fleet), with all expedition to the iſles of Lemnos, Thaſos, and Sciathos, contiguous to the coaſt of Macedon. Conveniently poſted in thoſe iſlands, where they would enjoy neceſſaries in abundance, the Athenian troops might avail themſelves of every favourable incident, to appear at the firſt ſummons of their allies, and

[33] The ſenſe indeed of that period, but neither its force nor its harmony, can be tranſlated. Τεθνηκε Φιλιππος; ου μα δια! αλλ' ασθενει· τι δε υμιν διαφερει; και γαρ αν ειτος τι παθη, ταχεως υμεις ετερον Φιλιππον ποιησετε, αν τηρ ειτω προσεχητε τοις πραγμασι τον νουν. Δε γαρ ειτος παρα της ιδιας ρωμης τοσουτον επηυξηται, οσον παρα της υμετερας αμελειας.

either

either to repel the inroads of the Macedonians, or to haraſs the extended, and, in many parts, defenceleſs territory of that people. Meanwhile, preparations would be made at home for carrying on the war in due time, with more numerous forces, and with greater efficacy. Such moderate propoſals prove that Demoſthenes well underſtood the genius of his countrymen. He required, that only the fourth part of the troops ſhould conſiſt of Athenian citizens; and the immediate ſupplies were to amount only to ninety talents. He knew that higher demands would alarm their indolence and love of pleaſure; and ſo fatally were they ſunk in the idle amuſements of the city, that it is probable the ſmall armament propoſed did not actually ſet ſail; it is certain that no future preparations were made adequate to the public ſervice. CHAP. XXXIV.

Philip affects to lay aſide his ambition.

The profound policy of Philip foſtered the ſupine negligence of his enemies. For more than two years after his retreat from Thermopylæ, that crafty prince much confined himſelf to his dominions, and chiefly to his capital, anxious to diſſipate the clamour occaſioned by his too great precipitation to ſeize the gates of Greece. In that interval, he indeed made an expedition to chaſtiſe the rebellious ſpirit of the Theſſalians. But the greateſt part of his time was ſpent at Pella, and addicted to the arts of peace, which he judged with ſkill, and encouraged with munificence. That favourite city was adorned with temples, theatres, and porticoes. The moſt ingenious artiſts of Greece were ſummoned by liberal rewards, to the court

His occupation during a long reſidence at Pella. A. C. 350. & 349.

CHAP. XXXIV.

of Macedon [39]; and men of talents and genius [40], who were too often expoſed to envy and perſecution in the former country, were received with open arms by a prince, who, amidſt the tumult of war, aſſiduouſly cultivated the ſtudies of literature and eloquence. In his domeſtic government, Philip adminiſtered juſtice with impartiality, liſtened with condeſcenſion to the complaints of his meaneſt ſubjects, and diſdaining the ceremonious and forbidding pomp of tyranny, maintained an intercourſe of viſits and entertainments with his courtiers and generals [41].

His vices;

In a prince ſo reſpectably employed, it is difficult to conceive the odious and deteſtable vices with which Philip is upbraided by Demoſthenes [42]; yet the brief deſcriptions, occaſionally ſketched by the orator, are filled up by an ancient hiſtorian, who repreſents the infamies of the life of Philip in language well fitted to arraign the horrors of Nero or Heliogabalus. Could we believe the acrimony [43] of Theopompus of Chios, a ſcholar of Iſocrates, who flouriſhed in the age of Alexander, Philip ſullied his great actions by the moſt enormous and deteſtable crimes. Alike avaricious and prodigal, the wealth which he had amaſſed by injuſtice and rapacity, he diſſipated in the moſt flagitious gratifi-

[39] Juſtin. l. viii. c. 3.

[40] Among other Greeks who lived at Philip's court were, Leoſthenes the orator, Neoptolemus the poet, Ariſtodemus and Satyrus celebrated players. Æſchin. & Demoſthen. paſſim.

[41] Plut. in Apopth. & in Demoſthen. & Alexand.

[42] Vid Demoſthen. ex edit. Wolf. pp. 5. 8. 48. 66, &c.

[43] Corn. Nep. in Alcibiad.

cations

CHAP. XXXIV.

cations, and in company with the meaneſt and moſt worthleſs of mankind. His companions were choſen promiſcuouſly from Macedonians and Greeks, and eſpecially from Theſſalians, the moſt profligate of the Greeks, and were admitted to his familiarity and friendſhip in proportion to their proficiency in the moſt odious and unnatural abominations [44] that ever polluted the worſt men in the moſt corrupt ages of the world. We muſt, doubtleſs, make allowances for the gall of a writer, noted to a proverb for ſeverity. Yet there is ſufficient collateral evidence, that Philip's ſtrong propenſity to low wit, obſcenity, and drunkenneſs, rendered him a prey

[43] The epithets given them by Theopompus are, Βδελυροι, *abominabiles;* and λαταυροι; the laſt word is compoſed of λα, *valde*, and ταυρος, *taurus;* and tranſlated *inſegnitur mentulatus*, which correſponds to the *enormitas membrorum* of the Auguſtan hiſtorians. The following deſcription of the friends of Philip is too indecent for modern language: "Horum enim quidam jam viri barbam indentidem radebant, & vellebantur: alii vero barbati citra pudorem viciſſim ſe impudicabant, ſtupris intercutibus ſe flagitantes; regi vero duo vel tres circumducebantur qui paterentur muliebria, & eandem operam navarent alios ſubagitantes. Quamobrem illos jure aliquis non amicos regis, ſed amicas eſſe credidiſſet, nec milites ſed proſtibula nuncupaſſet, ingenio quidem & natura ſanguinantes, moribus autem virilia ſcorta," &c. This paſſage is quoted from the forty-ninth book of Theopompus. In his twenty-ſixth book he ſpeaks to the ſame purpoſe: "Philippum cum Theſſalos intemperantes eſſe, ac laſciviæ petulantiſque vitæ proſpiceret, eorum conventus ac contubernia inſtituiſſe; iiſque uti placeret modis omnibus fuiſſe conatum, cum illis ſaltâſſe, commiſſatum fuiſſe, cuivis libidini ſe ac nequitiæ tradidiſſe." A miſtaken paſſage of Diodorus has made ſome learned men doubt the authenticity of theſe deſcriptions. Diodorus (l. xvi. ſect. 3.) ſays, that Theopompus γεγραφεναι οκτω βιβλους προς τοις πεντηκοντα, εξ ων πεντε διαφωνουσι; "had written the hiſtory of Philip in fifty-eight books, five of which differ in ſtyle from the reſt." Were we therefore to ſuppoſe the five laſt books ſpurious (for that is the inference which has been drawn), the obſervations of Diodorus would not at all affect the paſſages above cited.

CHAP. XXXIV.

to buffoons, and paraſites, and flatterers, and all the worthleſs retinue of intemperance and folly. Theſe diſgraceful aſſociates of the prince, formed, in time of war, a regiment apart, of about eight hundred men, whoſe gradual waſte was continually recruited by new members, who either were, or ſoon became worthy of the old; for, as we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to relate, the whole band were alike cowardly and profligate.

and policy.

But in whatever manner Philip employed his private hours, he at no time loſt ſight of thoſe great principles of policy which regulated his public adminiſtration. Under pretence of wanting money to ſupply the expence of his buildings, and other public works, he employed an expedient which is well known in latter times, and which has been carried to ſuch exceſs as threatens the ſafety of thoſe governments which it was intended to uphold. The letting looſe of the Delphic treaſures had diffuſed near a million ſterling over Greece [45]. The unſettled ſtate of that country rendered thoſe who had acquired wealth very uncertain of enjoying it. With the rich and avaricious, Philip employed proper agents to take up [46] money at high intereſt, which procured him two

[45] The ſacred war laſted ten years, and coſt the Phocians ten thouſand talents, near two millions; it had already laſted five years, and may be ſuppoſed to have coſt near the half of that ſum. Diodor. l. xvi. p. 453. He ſays, that the gold and ſilver dedications (which were coined into money) ὑπερβαλλειν τα μυρια ταλαντα, "exceeded ten thouſand talents;" a prodigious ſum (conſidering the relative value of money in thoſe days), of which the ſudden diffuſion could not fail to produce moſt important conſequences.

[46] Juſtin. viii. 3.

advan-

advantages of a very important kind, the attaching to his government and perſon a numerous and powerful band of creditors; and the enabling him to pay, under the title of debts, and therefore without ſuſpicion, the various penſions and gratuities by which he maintained his influence among the orators and leading men in the ſeveral republics.

CHAP. XXXIV.

CHAP. XXXV.

Negligence and Licentiousneſs of the Athenians. — Philip's Intrigues in Eubœa. — Phocion defeats the Macedonians and Eubœans. — Philip invades the Olynthian Territory. — Demoſthenes's Orations in favour of the Olynthians. — Expedition of Chares. — Philip takes Olynthus. — Celebrates the Feſtival of the Muſes at Dium. — Commits naval Depredations on Attica. — His Embaſſy to Athens. — The Athenian Embaſſy to Philip. — Character of the Ambaſſadors. — Their Conference with the King. — Differently reported to the Senate and Aſſembly. — Philip's Conqueſts in Thrace. — The Phocian War. — Negociations. — Philip's Intrigues. — Decree of the Amphictyons againſt Phocis. — Executed by Philip. — Macedon acknowledged the principal Member of the Amphictyonic Council.

CHAP. XXXV.

Negligence and licentiouſneſs of the Athenians. Olymp. cvii. 4. A.C. 349.

THE Athenians, deceived by the inactivity of the King of Macedon, indulged themſelves, without reſerve, in their favourite amuſements. Their confederates, the Phocians, were abandoned; the war with Philip, in which they might well have conſidered themſelves as principals, was neglected. Magiſtrates and people ſeemed ſolely attentive to regulate public feſtivals and proceſſions, and to aſcertain the diſputed merits of dramatic poets and performers. The fund originally intended for the

exigencies of war, had already been appropriated to the theatre; and a law was now enacted, on the motion of Eubulus, an artful flatterer of the multitude, rendering it a capital crime to propoſe any change in this unexampled and moſt whimſical deſtination. It was in vain for Demoſthenes to reſiſt the popular torrent. He was oppoſed and overwhelmed by Eubulus and Demades, the latter of whom, with talents that might have adorned his country, condeſcended to ſell its intereſts to the public enemy. CHAP. XXXV.

Born in the loweſt condition of life, Demades retained the vices of his birth; and always diſcovered that ſordid ſpirit, and weltered in thoſe brutal exceſſes, which betray the want of early culture. Yet the acuteneſs of his apprehenſion, the ſtrength of his reaſon and memory, and above all, the bold and copious flow of his unpremeditated eloquence, in which he was allowed to excel even Demoſthenes [a] himſelf, raiſed him to a conſpicuous rank in the aſſembly; and it being his buſineſs, as the hireling of Philip, to ſail along with the ſtream of popular frenzy, which the patriotiſm of his rival endeavoured to ſtruggle with and to ſtem, he enjoyed a free and ample ſcope for exerciſing his abilities. Juſtified by Demades.

The people of Athens triumphed in the victory of perfidious demagogues over the wiſeſt and beſt of their fellow-citizens, or rather over the laws and conſtitution of their country, when Philip began to Philip's intrigues in Eubœa. Olymp. cvii. 4. A. C. 349.

[a] Plutarch in Demoſthen.

play

CHAP. XXXV.

play thoſe batteries which he had patiently raiſed with ſuch ſkill and ſecrecy. The iſland of Eubœa, which he called the fetters of Greece, was the firſt object of his attack. Since the expulſion of the Thebans, of which we have formerly taken notice, the Athenians had preſerved their intereſt in the iſland, where they maintained a ſmall body of troops. The different cities, however, enjoyed the independent government of their own laws; they appointed their own magiſtrates; they ſometimes made war againſt each other; and ſeparately aſſumed the prerogatives of free and ſovereign ſtates, while they all collectively acknowledged their dependence on Athens. Such political arrangements made room for the intrigues of Philip. He fomented their civil diſcord; gained partiſans in each city; and at length, under colour of protecting his allies, landed ſeveral Macedonian battalions in the iſland [a].

Danger to which the Athenian intereſt in that iſland was ex-

Matters were ſoon diſpoſed to his wiſh. The Macedonians were allowed to occupy the moſt advantageous poſts. The Athenian party exclaimed and threatened; but Plutarch, the leader of that party, was gained to the intereſt of Philip, and demanded auxiliaries from Athens, only to betray them into the hands of their enemies. Demoſthenes, who alone penetrated this dark ſcheme of villany, entreated and conjured his countrymen to put no confidence in Plutarch. But he was ſingle in his opinion. Thoſe in the confidence of Philip were

[a] Æſchin. in Ctesiphont. & Demoſth. de falſa Legation. & de rec.

true

CHAP. XXXV.

true to their maſter, and therefore urged the expedition. The friends of their country were eager to ſave the iſle of Eubœa, and the capricious multitude, ever in extremes, ruſhed with as much impetuoſity to an enterpriſe intended for their ruin, as they had long ſhewn backwardneſs to engage in every other [3]. The promptitude and vigour of their preparations much exceeded the expectation, and even alarmed the fears of the Macedonian faction. But the partizans of Philip had gone too far to retreat; nor could they foreſee the conſequences that happened, ſo contrary to their hopes. The Athenians, in fact, obtained a deciſive victory, not by the ſtrength of their arms, which was inferior to the enemy's, but through the wiſe choice of a general.

from which they are extricated by Phocion.

The conſummate prudence of Phocion, who, on his arrival in Eubœa, found things in a worſe ſtate than had been repreſented, riſked no chance of defeat, and loſt no opportunity of advantage [4]. Having choſen a favourable poſt, which was on all ſides ſurrounded by broken and uneven ground, he deſpiſed the clamours of his men and the inſults of the enemy. The treacherous Plutarch was quickly defeated in a mock battle, in which he fell back on the Athenian cavalry, who fled in diſorder to the camp of Phocion. The Eubœans and Macedonians purſued with a raſh and intemperate ardour; and, elated with victory, or confident in their ſuperior numbers, prepared to aſſail the camp. The general, meanwhile, performed a ſacrifice, which he ſtudiouſly prolonged, either from

[3] Demoſth. de Pace. [4] Plutarch in Phocion.

religion

CHAP. XXXV.

He defeats the Macedonians and Eubœans.

religion or policy, until he beheld the diſorder of the aſſailants embarraſſed by the unequal ground, and by their own raſhneſs. He then commanded his men to prepare for action, and ſallying rapidly from his entrenchments, increaſed the confuſion of the enemy, who were repelled with great ſlaughter towards the plain which they had at firſt occupied. The activity of Cleophanes, who had rallied and formed the Athenian cavalry, rendered the victory complete. The remains of the vanquiſhed took refuge in the fortreſs of Zeratra, in the northern corner of the iſland, which, being attacked, made a feeble reſiſtance [5]. The garriſon ſurrendered; but Phocion reſtored all the Eubœans to liberty, leſt the people of Athens, inflamed by their popular leaders, might treat them with that cruelty, which, on a ſimilar occaſion, they had inflicted on the rebellious citizens of Mitylené [6]. Having ſpent a few weeks in ſettling the affairs of the iſland, he returned in triumph to Athens, his ſhips drawn up in line of battle, their ſtems crowned with garlands, and the rowers keeping time to the ſound of martial muſic. His fellow-citizens received him with acclamations of joy; but their imprudence did not allow them to reap the fruits of his ſucceſs. Moloſſus, an obſcure ſtranger, was appointed, by cabal, to command the troops left in the iſland; and Philip, having renewed his intrigues, carried them on with the ſame dexterity, and met with far better ſucceſs [7].

[5] Plut. in Phocion.
[6] See above, vol. ii. c. xvi. pp. 243, & ſeqq.
[7] Plut. in Phocion.

It

CHAP. XXXV.

It is worthy of attention, that Demoſthenes followed the ſtandard of Phocion to Eubœa, though he had ſtrongly diſapproved the expedition. Both he and his rival Æſchines, of whom we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to ſpeak more fully, ſerved in the cavalry. Demoſthenes was reproached with being the firſt who deſerted his rank, and among the laſt who returned to the charge. Æſchines behaved with diſtinguiſhed gallantry, and had the honour of being appointed by Phocion to carry home the firſt intelligence of the victory [8].

Oppoſite behaviour of Demoſthenes and Æſchines in the battle.

Philip's diſappointment in Eubœa only ſtimulated his activity. His toils were ſpread ſo widely all around him, that when one part failed he could catch his prey in another. The Olynthians, againſt whom he ſeemed to have long forgotten his reſentment, were aſtoniſhed to obſerve that ſeveral of their citizens grew rich and great in a manner equally ſudden and unaccountable; and that they enlarged their poſſeſſions, built ſtately palaces, and diſplayed a degree of magnificence and grandeur hitherto unknown in their frugal republic. The unexpected invaſion of Philip revealed the myſtery. A conſiderable party had grown wealthy by betraying the ſecrets, expoſing the weakneſs, and foſtering the ill-timed ſecurity of their country [9]. Their influence at home had recommended them to Philip, and the wages of their iniquity had increaſed that influence. It would not probably have been difficult to prove their treaſon, but it ſeemed dangerous to puniſh it; and the Olynthians

Philip invades the territory of Olynthus. Olymp. cvii. 4. A. C. 349.

[8] Æſchin. de falſa Legatione, & Demoſt. in Midiam.

[9] Demoſt. Olynth. paſſim.

were

CHAP. XXXV.

The Olynthians implore the aid of Athens.

were more immediately concerned to repel the open ravagers of their territory. In this emergency, they trusted not to their domestic forces of ten thousand foot and one thousand horse [10], but sent an embassy to Athens, inveighing in the strongest terms against Philip, who had first courted, then deceived, and at last invaded and attacked them; and craving assistance from the Athenians, in consequence of the alliance formerly concluded between the two republics, to defeat the designs of a tyrant equally daring and perfidious.

State of parties in Athens.

Had the people of Athens heartily undertaken the cause of Olynthus, Philip would have been exposed a second time to the danger which he had eluded with so much address in the beginning of his reign. Thebes was employed and exhausted in the Phocian war; the grandeur of Sparta had decayed as much as her principles had degenerated; the inferior states extended not their views of policy beyond their respective districts. But the Athenians, recently successful in Eubœa, and reinforced by the strength and resentment of such a republic as Olynthus, might have still rendered themselves formidable to the public enemy, especially as, at this juncture, the rebellious humours of the Thessalians broke out afresh, and led them capriciously to oppose, with as much eagerness as they had often helped to promote, the interest of Macedon. But to compensate these unpromising circumstances, Philip had many strenuous abettors of his power within the walls of Athens and Olynthus; and his garrisons actually commanded the principal posts

[10] Demosth. de falsa Legatione.

in

in Theſſaly. Above all, the indolence and vices of his enemies were moſt favourable to his cauſe. The late ſucceſs in Eubœa, which ſhould have animated a brave and generous people to new exertions and dangers, only replunged the Athenians into a ſlothful ſecurity. While they enjoyed their theatrical entertainments, their ſhows and feſtivals, and all the eaſe and luxury of a city-life, they were little inclined to engage in any enterpriſe that might diſturb the tranquil courſe of their pleaſures. In this diſpoſition they were encouraged by their perfidious demagogues, who ſtrongly exhorted them to beware of involving themſelves in the danger of Olynthus, or of provoking the reſentment of a prince whoſe power they were unable to reſiſt. The orator Demades particularly diſtinguiſhed his zeal in the Macedonian intereſt; adviſing an abſolute and total rejection of the demands of the Olynthian ambaſſadors. CHAP. XXXV.

Demoſthenes at length aroſe, and, as the deſign of calling the aſſembly had been already explained, entered immediately on the queſtion under deliberation. "On [11] many occaſions, Athenians! have the gods declared their favour to this ſtate, but never more manifeſtly than in the preſent juncture. First oration of Demoſthenes in favour of the Olynthians.

[11] I mean not a tranſlation of Demoſthenes. The inſerting his ſpeeches entire would deſtroy the humble uniformity of this hiſtorical work, with the deſign of which it would be inconſiſtent to tranſcribe what the orator found it neceſſary to ſay, repeat, and enforce ſo often. Beſides, Demoſthenes is one of the few Greek writers that has been tranſlated, as the late Mr. Harris ſays in his Philological Enquiries, by competent perſons: Drs. Leland and Francis, in Engliſh; Mr. Tourreil and the Abbé Auger, in French; and the Abbé Ceſarotti, in Italian.

CHAP. XXXV.

That enemies ſhould be raiſed to Philip, on the confines of his territory, enemies not contemptible in power, and, which is more important, ſo determined on the war, that they regard every accommodation in Macedon, firſt as inſidious, next as the deſtruction of their country, can be aſcribed to nothing leſs than the bountiful interpoſition of Heaven. With every thing elſe on our ſide, let us not be wanting to ourſelves; let us not be reproached with the unſpeakable infamy of throwing away, not only thoſe cities and territories which we inherited from our anceſtors, but thoſe occaſions and alliances offered us by fortune and the gods. To inſiſt on the power and greatneſs of Philip belongs not to the preſent ſubject. He has become great through your ſupine neglect, and the perfidy of traitors whom it becomes you to puniſh. Such topics are not honourable for you: I wave them as ſuperfluous, having matter more material to urge. To call the King of Macedon perjured and perfidious, without proving my aſſertions, would be the language of inſult and reproach. But his own actions, and not my reſentment, ſhall name him; and of theſe I think it neceſſary to ſpeak for two reaſons; firſt, that he may appear, what he really is, a wicked man; and, ſecondly, that the weak minds who are intimidated by his power and reſources, may perceive that the artifices to which he owes them, are now all exhauſted, and that his ruin is at hand. As for myſelf, Athenians! I ſhould not only fear but admire Philip, had he attained his preſent height of grandeur

CHAP. XXXV.

ir by honourable and equitable means. But, after the moſt ſerious examination, I find, that at firſt he ſeduced our ſimplicity by the flattering promiſe of Amphipolis; that he next ſurpriſed the friendſhip of Olynthus by the deceitful gift of Potidæa; that, laſtly, he enſlaved the Theſſalians, under the ſpecious pretence of delivering them from tyrants. In one word, with what community hath he treated, which hath not experienced his fraud? Which of his confederates hath he not ſhamelefsly betrayed? Can it be expected, then, that thoſe who promoted his elevation, becauſe they thought him *their* friend, will continue to ſupport it, when they find him a friend to his own intereſt alone? Impoſſible! When confederacies are formed on the principles of common advantage and affection, each member ſhares the toils with alacrity; all perſevere: ſuch confederacies endure. But when worthleſſneſs and lawleſs ambition have raiſed a ſingle man, the ſlighteſt accident overthrows the unſtable edifice of his grandeur. It is not, no! Athenians! it is not poſſible to found a laſting power on treachery, fraud, and perjury. Theſe may ſucceed for a while: but time reveals their weakneſs. For, as in a houſe, a ſhip, and in ſtructures of every kind, the foundation and lower parts ſhould be firm and ſolid, ſo the grounds and principles of action ſhould be juſt and true. But ſuch qualities belong not to the actions of Philip [17].

"I am

[17] The important, though trite proverb, that in public, as well as in private tranſactions, "honeſty is the beſt policy," was never

CHAP. XXXV.

"I am of opinion, then, that fearleſs of conſequences, you ought to aſſiſt Olynthus with the utmoſt celerity and vigour, and to diſpatch an embaſſy to the Theſſalians, to inflame their hoſtility. But take care, Athenians! that your ardour evaporate not in mere reſolutions and decrees. Be ready to pay your contributions; prepare to take the field; ſhow yourſelves in earneſt, and you will ſoon diſcover not only the hollow faith of the allies of Philip, but the internal and concealed infirmity of Macedon itſelf. That kingdom has emerged from obſcurity amidſt the conteſts of neighbouring ſtates, during which the ſmalleſt weight, put into either ſcale, is ſufficient to incline the balance. But, in itſelf, Macedon is inconſiderable and weak, and its real weakneſs is increaſed by the ſplendid but ruinous expeditions of Philip. For the King and his ſubjects are actuated by very different ſentiments. Domineered

never expreſſed, perhaps with ſuch dignity, as in the following words of Demoſthenes; ὁταν μεν γαρ ὑπ' ευνοιας τα πραγματα συσῃ, καὶ πασι ταὐτα συμφορη τοις μετεχουσι του πολεμου, καὶ συμπονειν, καὶ φερειν τας συμφορας, καὶ μενειν εθελουσι οἱ ἀνθρωποι· ὁταν δὲ εκ πλεονεξιας τις, ὡσπερ οὗτος, ἰσχυσῃ, ἢ πρωτε προφασις, καὶ μικρον πταισμα ἁπαντα ανεκαιτισε, καὶ διαλυσεν· ου γαρ εστι, ω ανδρες Αθηναιοι, αδικουντα καὶ επιορκουντα καὶ ψευδομενον, δυναμιν βεβαιαν κτησασθαι· ἀλλα τα τοιαυτα εις μεν ἀπαξ, καὶ βραχυν χρονον, αντεχει· καὶ σφοδρα γ' ηνθησεν επι ταις ελπισιν, αν τυχῃ· τῳ χρονῳ δὲ φθειρεται, καὶ περι αυτα καταρρει· ὡσπερ γαρ οικιας, οἰμαι, καὶ πλοιου, καὶ των αλλων των τοιουτων τα καταθεν ισχυροτατα ειναι δει, ουτω καὶ των πραξεων τας αρχας καὶ τας υποθεσεις αληθεις καὶ δικαιους ειναι προσηκει· ταυτα δὲ εκ ευεστιν εν τοις πεπραγμενοις φιλιππῳ. Demoſthen. Olynth. i. or Olynth. ii. p. 37th, in the common but incorrect edition of Wolfius.

by

CHAP. XXXV.

by ambition, he diſregards eaſe and ſafety; but his ſubjects, who individually have little ſhare in the glory of his conqueſts, are indignant, that, for the ſake of one man, they ſhould be harraſſed by continual warfare, and withdrawn from thoſe occupations and purſuits, which afford the comforts and happineſs of private life. On the great body of his people, Philip, therefore, can have no reliance; nor, whatever may be ſaid of their valour and diſcipline, can he depend more on his mercenaries. For I am informed, by a man of undoubted veracity, who has juſt arrived from Macedon, that none of Philip's guards, even thoſe whom he treats with the affectionate, but deceitful names of companions, and fellow-ſoldiers, can merit his eſteem, without incurring his hatred and perſecution. Such is the intolerable jealouſy, ſuch the malignant envy, which crowns the other odious vices of this monſter, who, defying every ſentiment of virtue and decency, drives from his preſence all who ſhudder, all who are diſguſted, at the moſt unnatural enormities; and whoſe court is continually crowded by buffoons, paraſites, obſcene poets and drunkards; wretches who, when drunk, will dance, but ſuch dances [13] as modeſty dare not name. Slight and trivial as theſe matters may to ſome appear, they exhibit the worthleſſneſs of Philip, and announce the infelicity

[13] The κορδαλισμος. Demoſth. p. 8. Vid. Schol. ad Ariſtoph. in Nubib. From the deſcription above given of Athenian manners, it appears that Demoſthenes's delicacy was merely complimental.

CHAP. XXXV.

which awaits him. The dangerous defects of his character are hid in the blaze of proſperity [14]; but when misfortune happens, his native deformity will appear. For it is eaſy to prove that, as in the bodily frame, men, during the ſeaſon of health, are inſenſible of what is weak and diſordered in their conſtitutions, which imperfections are immediately felt on the firſt approach of ſickneſs; ſo the glory of foreign conqueſt conceals the vices and defects of republics and monarchies: but let calamity happen, let the war be carried to their frontiers, and thoſe hitherto latent evils immediately become manifeſt.

"If there is a man among you, Athenians! who thinks that Philip is a formidable enemy, becauſe he is fortunate, I agree with that man. Fortune [5] has a mighty influence, or rather Fortune alone domineers in human affairs. Yet could you be perſuaded to do but the ſmalleſt part of your duty, I would greatly prefer your fortune to Philip's; for *you*, ſurely, have better reaſon to truſt in the aſſiſtance of Heaven. But we remain, I think, inactive, heſitating, delaying, and deliberating, while our enemy takes the field, braving ſeaſons and dangers, and neglecting no opportunity of advantage. And if the indolent and careleſs are abandoned by their beſt friends, can we expect that the gods, however favourable, ſhould aſſiſt us, if we will not help ourſelves?"

[14] Secundæ res mire ſunt vitiis obtentui. Salluſt.

[5] From what is ſaid below, it appears that, by Fortune, Demoſthenes here means the diſpenſations of Providence; and by good Fortune, the favour of Heaven.

The

CHAP. XXXV.

The extravagant expedition of Chares.

The people of Athens, animated to their duty, on the one hand, by Demoſthenes, and ſeduced, on the other, by the hirelings of Philip [16] and their own deceitful paſſions, imprudently ſteered a middle courſe, which, in public affairs, is often the moſt dangerous. Convinced that the preſervation of Olynthus was the beſt ſafeguard of Attica, yet unwilling to tear themſelves from their beloved pleaſures, they determined to ſend Chares, with a fleet and two thouſand mercenaries, to the aſſiſtance of their allies. This commander, who was the idol of the multitude, but the diſgrace of his country and of his profeſſion [17], ſhewed no ſolicitude to protect the dependencies of Olynthus, which ſucceſſively ſubmitted to the Macedonian arms. To gratify the rapacity of his troops, he made a deſcent on the fertile coaſt of Pallené, where, falling in with eight hundred men commanded by Audæus, called the friends of Philip, he obtained over thoſe contemptible cowards an eaſy and ludicrous victory, which ſerved only to amuſe the comic poets of the times. Having gained this advantage, Chares became unwilling to try his fortune in any ſeverer conflict; and diſdaining, as he affected, to follow the motions of Philip, returned home, and celebrated his triumph over the vain, boaſtful, and voluptuous Audæus [18];

[16] Philochorus in Dionyſ. Epiſt. ad Ammonium.

[17] Timotheus ſaid of him, "that he was fitter to carry the baggage, than to command an army." Plut. in Apophth.

[18] Among his contemporaries, he was nicknamed αλεκτρυων, the cock. Athenæus, l. xii. p. 534.

CHAP. XXXV.

not, however, with the ſpoils of the vanquiſhed, but with the ſum of ſixty talents, which he had extorted from the Phocians, who were actually in alliance with Athens [19].

Philip beſieges Olynthus.

The thoughtleſs multitude, who judged of the expedition of Chares by the expenſive pomp with which he entertained them at his return, talked extravantly of invading Macedon, and chaſtiſing the inſolence of Philip [20], when a ſecond embaſſy arrived from Olynthus. The inhabitants of this place had been ſhut up within their walls; they had loſt Stagyra, Miciberna, Toroné, cities of conſiderable ſtrength, beſides many inferior towns, which, on the firſt appearance of Philip, were forward to receive his bribes, and to open their gates [21]: and this ſhameful venality, in places well provided for defence, made the King of Macedon obſerve to his generals, that he would thenceforth conſider no fortreſs as impregnable, which could admit a mule laden with money [22]. Dejected by continual loſſes, the Olynthians turned their thoughts to negociation, that they might at leaſt amuſe the invader till the arrival of the Athenian ſuccours. Philip penetrated their deſign, and dexterouſly turned their arts againſt them; affecting to lend an ear to their propoſals, but mean-while continu-

[19] Athenæus, l. xii. p. 534.

[20] Demoſthen. Olynth. ii.

[21] Diodorus, l. xvi. p. 450.

[22] Plutarch. in Phocion. Diodorus, p. 451, relates the matter ſomewhat differently. But he acknowledges that the King of Macedon boaſted that he had augmented his dominions more by gold than by arms. Diodorus, p. 450.

ing

CHAP. XXXV.

ing his approaches, till, having got within forty ſtadia of their walls, he declared that of two things one was neceſſary, either *they* muſt leave Olynthus, or *he* Macedon [23]. This explicit declaration from an enemy, who often flattered to deſtroy, but who might always be believed when he threatened, convinced the Olynthians of what they had long ſuſpected, that their utter ruin was at hand. They endeavoured to retard the fatal moment by a vigorous ſally, in which their cavalry, commanded by Apollonides, particularly ſignaliſed their valour [24]. But they were repulſed by ſuperior numbers, and obliged to take refuge in the city.

Second embaſſy to Athens.

In this poſture of affairs, the ambaſſadors ſailed for Athens; and having arrived there, found, to their utter aſtoniſhment, the multitude ſtill enjoying the imaginary triumph of Chares. This commander, who chiefly owed his credit to the aſcendant of ſuperficial qualities over the undiſcerning folly of the people, was a warm and active partiſan of democracy, and as ſuch viewed, even by Demoſthenes, with too partial eyes. The orator, beſides, well knew that the irregular, uſeleſs, or deſtructive operations of the Athenian arms, ought not always to be charged on the miſconduct of the general. The troops were always ill paid; ſometimes not paid at all; and therefore diſobedient and mutinous. Inſtead of ſubmitting to controul, they often controuled their leaders; their reſolutions were prompt and ungovernable; when they could not perſuade they threatened; and com-

[23] Demoſthen. Philipp. iii.

[24] Id. ibid.

pelled

CHAP. XXXV.

pelled even prudent commanders to meaſures wild, ruinous, und diſhonourable.

The demands of the Olynthians again enforced by Demoſthenes.

Demoſthenes, therefore, who again undertook to ſecond the demands of Olynthus, waved all accuſation againſt particular perſons. After endeavouring to repreſs the vain confidence of his countrymen, which had been excited by the ſuppoſed advantages of Charos, and the venal breath of corrupt orators, he repreſents the real and imminent danger of their allies, which he perſuades them to regard as their own. The criſis was now arrived; and if they neglected the preſent opportunity of fulfilling their engagements to Olynthus, they muſt ſoon be obliged to meet Philip in Attica. He reminds them of the various occaſions, which they had already loſt, of repelling this rapacious tyrant, this hoſtile Barbarian, this mixture of perfidy and violence, for whom he cannot find any name ſufficiently reproachful. "But ſome perhaps will ſay, it is the buſineſs of a public ſpeaker to adviſe, not to upbraid. We wiſh to aſſiſt the Olynthians, and we will aſſiſt them; but inform us how our aid may be rendered moſt effectual. Appoint magiſtrates, Athenians! for the inſpection of your laws; not to enact new laws; they are already too numerous; but to repeal thoſe whoſe ill effects you daily experience; I mean the laws reſpecting the theatrical funds (thus openly I declare it), and ſome about the ſoldiery. By the firſt, the ſoldier's pay is confirmed, as theatrical expences, by the uſeleſs and inactive; the ſecond ſcreen from juſtice the coward who declines the ſervice, and damp the ardour of the

the brave who would be ready to take the field. Till theſe laws be repealed, expect not that any man will urge your true intereſt, ſince his honeſt zeal muſt be repaid with deſtruction." After inſiſting ſtill farther on this delicate and dangerous ſubject, Demoſthenes probably obſerved diſpleaſure and reſentment in the countenance of his hearers, and then (as his cuſtom was) artfully turning the diſcourſe: "I ſpeak thus, not with a view to give offence, for I am not ſo mad as wantonly to offend; but becauſe I think it the duty of a public ſpeaker to prefer your intereſt to your pleaſure. Such were the maxims and conduct (you yourſelves know it) of thoſe ancient and illuſtrious orators whom all unite to praiſe, but none venture to imitate; of the virtuous Ariſtides, of Nicias, of Pericles, and of him whoſe name [25] I bear. But ſince miniſters have appeared who dare not addreſs the aſſembly, till they have firſt *conſulted* you about the *counſels* which they ought to give, who aſk, as it were, What ſhall I propoſe? What ſhall I adviſe? In what, Athenians! can I do you pleaſure? The ſweet draught of flattery has concealed a deadly poiſon; our ſtrength is enervated, our glory tarniſhed, the public beggared and diſgraced, while thoſe ſmooth-tongued declaimers have acquired opulence and ſplendour [26]. Conſider, CHAP. XXXV.

[25] Demoſthenes, who acted ſuch a diſtinguiſhed part in the Peloponneſian war. See above, vol. ii. c. xvii. p. 269, & ſeqq.

[26] It is worthy of obſervation, that, in this diſcourſe throughout, Demoſthenes inſiſts that the people at large enjoyed much leſs authority in his time than in the days of Ariſtides, &c. All depends,

CHAP. XXXV.

Conſider, Athenians! how briefly the conduct of your anceſtors may be contraſted with your own; for, if you would purſue the road to glory and happineſs, you need not foreign inſtructors: it will be ſufficient to follow the example of thoſe from whom you are deſcended. The Athenians of former times, whom the orators never courted, never treated with that indulgence to which you are accuſtomed, held, with general conſent, the ſovereignty of Greece for ſixty-five years [27]; depoſited above ten thouſand talents in the citadel; kept the King of Macedon in that ſubmiſſion which a Barbarian owes to Greece; erected many and illuſtrious trophies of the exploits which their own valour had atchieved by land and ſea; in a word, are the only people on record whoſe glorious actions tranſcend the power of envy. Thus great in war, their civil adminiſtration was not leſs admirable. The ſtately edifices which they raiſed, the temples which they adorned, the dedications which they offered to the gods, will never be excelled in magnificence; but in private life, ſo exemplary

depends, he aſſerts, on the popular orators and magiſtrates, "ὁι πολιτευομενοι." Yet it is well known that ſince the age of Ariſtides, the government had become more democratical. Demoſthenes himſelf allows this: the orators, he ſays, dare not addreſs the people now with that freedom which they uſed formerly.—This apparent contradiction ſhews the nature and tendency of that ſpecies of popular government which the Greeks called ochlogarchy.—The populace are the ſlaves of their demagogues, and the demagogues of the populace. Inſtead of liberty, there is an interchange of ſervitude.

[27] Demoſthenes's chronology here is not accurate. See above, vol. iii. p. 86. in the note.

was

CHAP. XXXV.

was their moderation, and ſo ſcrupulous their adherence to the frugal maxims of antiquity, that if any of you has examined the houſe of Ariſtides or Miltiades, he will find them undiſtinguiſhed above the contiguous buildings by ſuperior elegance or grandeur. The ambition of thoſe illuſtrious ſtateſmen was to exalt the republic, not to enrich themſelves [28]; and this juſt moderation, accompanied by piety and patriotiſm, raiſed their country (and no wonder!) to the height of proſperity. Such was the condition of Athens under thoſe ſincere and honeſt men. Is it the ſame, or nearly the ſame, under the indulgence of our preſent miniſters? I wave other topics on which I might enlarge. But you behold in what ſolitude we are left. The Lacedæmonians loſt; the Thebans haraſſed by war: no other republic worthy of aſpiring to the ſovereignty. Yet, at this period, when we might not only have defended our own poſſeſſions, but have become the arbiters and umpires of all around us, we have been ſtripped of whole provinces; we have expended fifteen hundred talents fruitleſsly; we have loſt, in time of peace, the alliances and advantages which the arms of our anceſtors had acquired; and we have raiſed up and armed a moſt formidable enemy againſt ourſelves. If not, let the man ſtand forth who can ſhow from what other cauſe Philip has derived his greatneſs. But the miſerable condition of our foreign affairs, is, perhaps, compenſated by the happineſs of our

[28] Privatus illis cenſus erat brevis,
Commune magnum. HOR. ode xv. l. ii.

CHAP. XXXV.

domeſtic ſtate, and the ſplendid improvements of our capital. Roads repaired, walls whitened, *fountains*, and *follies* [*]! And the miniſters who have procured us thoſe magnificent advantages, paſs from poverty and meanneſs to opulence and dignity; build private palaces which inſult the edifices of the public; grow greater as their country becomes leſs, and gradually riſe on its ruins. What is the ſource of this diſorder? It is, Athenians! that formerly the people did their duty, took the field in perſon, and thus kept the magiſtrates in awe."

Licentiouſneſs of the Athenian troops under the profligate Charidemus.

The aſſembly remained inſenſible to the motives of intereſt and honour. Inſtead of taking the field in perſon, they ſent to Olynthus a body of foreign infantry, amounting to four thouſand, with an hundred and fifty horſe, under the command of Charidemus. This unworthy general, who was the ſlave of his mercenaries, and of his own deteſtable paſſions, gratified the rapacity of his troops by ravaging the Macedonian province of Bottiæa, on the confines of Chalcis. At length, however, he threw his forces into Olynthus; and the beſieged, encouraged by this reinforcement, hazarded another ſally, in which they were defeated and repelled with conſiderable loſs. The Athenian mercenaries were rendered every day more contemptible by their cowardice, and more dangerous by their licentiouſneſs. The beaſtly Charidemus had

[*] Πηγας και λιμενας. Demoſthenes diſdained not ſuch a gingle of words when it preſented itſelf naturally; but as it rarely occurs in his works, it is plain that he never ſought for it.

neither

neither inclination nor ability to reſtrain their irregularities. According to his cuſtom, he drank, at every meal to a ſcandalous exceſs: his brutality inſulted the women of Olynthus; and ſuch was his impudent and abandoned profligacy, that he demanded of the ſenate, as a reward for his pretended ſervices, a beautiful Macedonian youth, then captive in the city [55]. CHAP. XXXV.

The cauſe of the Olynthians vigorouſly ſupported by Æſchines and Demoſthenes.

In this ſtate of affairs, the Olynthians, a third time, applied to Athens. On the preſent occaſion, Æſchines, who afterwards became ſuch an active partiſan of the Macedonian intereſt, particularly diſtinguiſhed his zeal and his patriotiſm. The ſpeech of Demoſthenes, to the ſame purpoſe, is ſtill on record. He exhorts and conjures his countrymen to ſend to Olynthus an army of citizens, and at the ſame time to make a diverſion, by invading the Macedonian coaſt. Unleſs both be done, the indefatigable induſtry of Philip would render either ineffectual. "Have you ever conſidered the rapid progreſs of this prince? He began by taking Amphipolis, then Pydna, Potidæa, and Methoné; from thence he poured his troops into Theſſaly, and became maſter of Pheræ, Pegaſæ, and Magneſia. Then turning towards Thrace, he over-ran provinces, conquered and divided kingdoms, and ſeated himſelf on the trophies of fallen crowns and broken ſceptres. I ſpeak not of his expedition againſt the Pæonians and Illyrians, into Epirus,—and where has not ambition conducted his arms? But why this long enumeration?

[55] Theopomp. apud Athen. l. x. p. 436.

—To

CHAP. XXXV.

—To prove the important opportunities which your negligence has loſt, and the unextinguiſhable ardour of an adverſary, whoſe ſucceſſive conqueſts continually bring him nearer to your walls. For is there a man in this aſſembly, who perceives not that the ſufferings of the Olynthians are the forerunners of our own? The preſent conjuncture calls you, as with a loud voice, at length to rouſe from your lethargy, and to profit by this laſt teſtimony of the bountiful protection of the gods. Another is not to be expected, after the many which you have deſpiſed and forgotten; I ſay *forgotten;* for favourable conjunctures, like riches, and other gifts of Heaven, are remembered with gratitude, only by thoſe who have underſtanding to preſerve and to enjoy them. The ſpendthrift diſſipates his thankfulneſs with his wealth [41]; and the ſame imprudent folly renders him both miſerable and ungrateful." After theſe bold expoſtulations, or rather reproaches, he encourages them to relieve Olynthus, by obſerving, that Philip would never have undertaken the ſiege of that place, if he had expected ſuch a vigorous reſiſtance; eſpecially at a time when his allies were ready to revolt; when the Theſſalians wiſhed to throw off the yoke; when the Thracians and Illyrians hoped to recover their freedom. Thus the power of Philip, lately repreſented as ſo formidable, is by no

[41] The obſervation is uncommon, but juſt; αλλα οιμαι, παρομοιον εστι, ὁπερ καὶ περι της των χρηματων κτησεως· ἀν μεν γαρ, ὁσα αν τις λαβη καὶ σωσῃ, μεγαλην εχει τῃ τυχῃ την χαριν· ἀν δε αναλωσας λαθῃ, συναναλωσι καὶ το μεμνησθαι τῃ τυχη την χαριν. Demoſt. Olynth. iii. Olynth. i. p. 2. ex edit. Wolf.

means

means real and ſolid; one vigorous effort might yet overwhelm him; and the paſſion of hope, as well as that of fear, is rendered ſubſervient to the purpoſe of the orator. He again touches on the article of ſupplies; but with ſuch caution as ſhews that his former more explicit obſervations had been heard impatiently. "As to money for the expences of the war (for without money nothing can be done), you poſſeſs, Athenians! a military fund exceeding that of any other people. But you have unfortunately withdrawn it from its original deſtination, to which, were it reſtored, there could not be any neceſſity for extraordinary contributions. What! do you propoſe *in form*[12], that the theatrical money ſhould be applied to the uſes of the ſoldiery? No, ſurely. But I affirm, that ſoldiers muſt be raiſed; that a fund has been allotted for their ſubſiſtence; and that, in every well-regulated community, thoſe who are paid by the public, ought to ſerve the public. To profit of the preſent conjuncture, we muſt act with vigour and celebrity, we muſt diſpatch ambaſſadors to animate the neighbouring ſtates againſt Philip; we muſt take the field in perſon. If war raged on the frontiers of this country, with what rapidity would the Macedonians march hither? Why will you throw away a ſimilar opportunity? Know, that but one alternative remains, to carry the war into Macedon, or to receive it in Attica. If Olynthus reſiſts, we may ravage the territories of Philip;

CHAP. XXXV.

[12] Such a propoſal the Athenians had abſurdly declared punishable by death.

CHAP. XXXV.

should that republic be destroyed, who will hinder him from coming hither? The Thebans! to say nothing too severe, they would rather reinforce his arms. The Phocians! they who, without our assistance, cannot defend themselves. O! but he dares not come! It is madness to think that the designs of which he already boasts with such bold imprudence, he will not venture to execute, when nothing opposes his success[33]. I think it unnecessary to describe the difference between attacking Philip at home, and waiting for him here. Were you obliged, only for one month, to encamp without the walls, and to subsist an army in the country, your husbandmen would sustain more loss than has been incurred by all the former exigencies of the war. This would happen, although the enemy kept at a distance; but at the approach and entrance of an invader, what devastation must be produced! Add to this, the insult and disgrace, the most ruinous of all losses, to men capable of reflection."

Philip takes Olynthus. Olymp. cvii. 1. A.C. 348.

The arguments of Demosthenes prevailed: an embassy was sent into Peloponnesus, to inflame the hostility of that country against Philip; and it was determined to assist the Olynthians with an

[33] With all his policy, Philip seems to have had the vanity of a Greek. The vigour of the original is not to be translated: "Αν δε εκεινα, Φιλιππος λαβῃ, τις αυτον ετι κωλυσει δουρο βαδιζειν; Θηβαιοι; μη λιαν πικον ειπειν ῃ, καὶ συνεισβαλουσι εταιμως. αλλα Φωκεις, ὁι την οικειαν ουχ ὁιοι τε οντες φυλαττειν, εαν μη βοηθησητε ὑμεις· η αλλος τις; αλλ' ὁ ωταν ουχι βουλησεται—των ατοπωτατων μεντοι αν ειν, ει ὁ νυν ανοιαν οφλισκανων, ὁμως εκλαλει, ταυτα δυνηθεις, μη προιξει. I have used a little freedom with the "ουχι βουλησεται."

army of Athenian citizens. But before this reſolution could be carried into effect, Olynthus was no more. The cavalry belonging to that place had acted with great ſpirit againſt the beſiegers. As the works were too extenſive to be completely inveſted, the Olynthian horſemen made frequent incurſions [34] into the ſurrounding territory, where they not only ſupplied themſelves with proviſions, and forage, but beat up the quarters, attacked the advanced poſts, and intercepted the convoys of the enemy. Theſe advantages were chiefly owing to the merit of one man. In the various ſkirmiſhes, as well as in the two general engagements which had happened ſince the commencement of the ſiege, Philip perceived that Apollonides, who commanded the enemy's horſe, diſplayed ſuch valour and abilities as might long retard, perhaps altogether defeat, the ſucceſs of his undertaking. His ſecret emiſſaries were therefore ſet to work: perfidious clamours were ſown among the populace of Olynthus; Apollonides was publicly accuſed; and by the malignant practices of traitors, condemned to baniſhment on a ſuſpicion of treaſon [35]. The command of the cavalry was beſtowed on Laſthenes and Euthycrates, two wretches who had ſold their country to Philip. Having obtained ſome previous ſucceſſes, which had been concerted the better to maſk their deſigns, they advanced againſt a Macedonian poſt; carried it at the firſt onſet; purſued the flying gar-

CHAP. XXXV.

[34] Diodor. l. xvi. 53. [35] Demoſth. de falſa Legat.

CHAP. XXXV.

rison; and betrayed their own troops into an ambush prepared by the enemy. Surrounded on all sides, the Olynthians surrendered their arms: and this fatal disaster encouraging the Macedonian partisans within the walls, soon opened [illegible] of Olynthus [6]. The conqueror entered in triumph, plundered and demolished the city, and [illegible] the inhabitants into servitude [7]. [illegible] thycrates, and their associates [illegible] even a worse [illegible]. Philip is said to [illegible] them to the indignant rage of the [illegible] soldiers, who butchered them almost [illegible] eyes. It is certain, that [illegible] blind ambition often employed [illegible] or his pride always detested the [illegible]

This important conquest in Philip with the ambition to seize Thermopylæ

The conquest of Olynthus [illegible] possession of the region of Ch[illegible] coast of the Ægnæan [illegible] tory, which rend[illegible] that [illegible] round and complete. [illegible] was now bounded, on the north by [illegible] possessions

[6] Demosth. de falsa Legatione.

[7] Four reasons conspired to produce the severe treatment of the Olynthians, — 1. Philip had lost a great many men in the siege; πολλοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τειχομαχίαι ἀπέβαλεν Diodor. p. 450. 2. The Olynthians had received his natural brothers, Aridæus and Menelaus, accused of treason. Justin. l. viii. c. iii. 3. Philip wanted money to carry on his intrigues in other cities; [illegible] (scil. Ὀλύνθου) καὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐξανδραποδισάμενος, ἐλαφυραπώλησε· τρίτο δὲ πράξας, χρημάτων τε πολλῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον εὐπόρησε. 4. Diodorus immediately after adds the fourth reason, "That he might deter the neighbouring cities from opposing his measures." Diodor. p. 450.

[8] Demosth. Olynth. iii. sect. 3.

CHAP. XXXV.

and the Helleſpont.

ſons of Kerſobleptes, and on the ſouth by the territory of Phocis, a province actually comprehending the ſtraits of Thermopylæ, which had formerly belonged to a different diviſion of Greece. Beſides the general motives of intereſt, which prompted him to extend his dominions, he diſcerned the peculiar importance of acquiring the Thermopylæ and the Helleſpont, ſince the former was emphatically ſtyled the Gates of Greece, and the latter formed the communication between that country and the fertile ſhores of the Euxine. Greece, exceeding in population the proportion of its extent and fertility, annually drew ſupplies of corn from thoſe northern regions. The Athenians, in particular, had ſettlements even in the remote peninſula of Crim Tartary, anciently called the Taurica Cherſoneſus, by means of which they purchaſed and imported the ſuperfluous productions of that remote climate[32]. Their ſhips could only ſail thither by the Helleſpont; and ſhould that important ſtrait be reduced under the power of an enemy, they muſt be totally excluded from an uſeful, and even neceſſary branch of commerce.

Philip celebrates the feſtival of the Muſes at Dium. Olymp. cviii. 1. A. C. 348.

Philip perceived theſe conſequences. It was the intereſt of all the Grecian republics to unite in aſſiſting Kerſobleptes and the Phocians, which was, in other words, to defend the Helleſpont and Thermopylæ. The intereſt of the Macedonian was diametrically oppoſite; nor could he expect to

[32] Demoſthen. in Leptin.

CHAP. XXXV.

accompliſh the great objects of his reign, unleſs he firſt rendered himſelf maſter of thoſe important ſtations. This delicate ſituation furniſhed a proper exerciſe for the dexterity of Philip. After the deſtruction of Olynthus, he celebrated a public feſtival of gratitude and joy, at the neighbouring town of Dium; to which, as at the Olympian and other Grecian games, all the republics were promiſcuouſly invited, whether friends or enemies [40]. It appears that ſeveral Athenians aſſiſted at theſe magnificent entertainments, which laſted nine days, in honour of the Muſes, and which wanted no object of elegance or ſplendour, that either art could produce or wealth could purchaſe. The politeneſs and condeſcending affability of Philip obliterated the remembrance of his recent ſeverity to Olynthus; and his liberal diſtribution of the ſpoils of that unfortunate city [41] gained him new friends,

[40] Demoſth. de falſa Legatione, & Diodor. p. 451.

[41] Both Demoſthenes and Diodorus mention an anecdote which does honour to Philip, and ſtill more to Satyrus the player. After dinner, the King, according to his cuſtom, was diſtributing his preſents: amidſt the general feſtivity, Satyrus alone wore a ſad countenance. The King addreſſed him kindly, and, in the language of the times, deſired him to aſk a boon. Satyrus ſaid, that ſuch preſents as others received (cups of gold, &c.) ſeemed to him of little value: that he had indeed ſomething to aſk, but feared a denial. Philip having encouraged him, he proceeded: "Apollophanes of Pydna was my friend. at his death, his two daughters, both arrived at a marriageable age, were ſent to Olynthus, taken captive, and ſubjected to all the calamities of ſervitude. Theſe are the preſents I requeſt, not with any deſign unworthy of their father or myſelf, but that I may give them ſuch portions as ſhall enable them to marry happily." Apollophanes had been an active opponent, and even the

friends, and confirmed the attachment of his old partiſans.

CHAP. XXXV.

Philip unexpectedly commits naval depredations on Attica.

Amidſt theſe ſcenes of rejoicing and feſtivity, Philip ſeems not to have forgotten one moment, that the moſt immediate object of his policy was to detach the Athenians from the cauſe of Phocis and Kerſobleptes, who were both their allies. For this purpoſe, while he courted individuals with peculiar addreſs, he determined to make the public feel the inconvenience of the war, the better to prepare them for the inſidious propoſal of a ſeparate peace. The bad conduct of Chares left the ſea open to the Macedonians, who had ſilently acquired a conſiderable naval force. Philip began to attack the Athenians on their favourite element. His fleet ravaged their tributary iſlands of Lemnos and Imbros; ſurpriſed and took a ſquadron of Athenian veſſels, ſtationed on the ſouthern coaſt of Eubœa; and, encouraged by theſe advantages, boldly ſailed to Attica, made a deſcent on the ſhore of Marathon, repelled the Athenian cavalry, headed by Deotimus, ravaged the territory, and carried off the Salaminian galley. From thence the victors proceeded to the iſle of Salamis, and defeated a conſiderable detachment commanded by Charidemus. The illuſtrious trophies of Marathon and Salamis were effaced by the inſults of the Macedonians, whoſe fleet returned home in triumph,

the perſonal enemy of Philip; yet this prince granted the requeſt of Satyrus, and enabled him liberally to provide for the daughters of his friend.

CHAP. XXXV.

adorned with hoſtile ſpoils, and with military and naval glory *.

His intrigues give him poſſeſſion of Eubœa.

The activity of Philip ſeconded his good fortune. His intrigues were renewed in Eubœa. Under pretence of delivering that iſland from the tyranny and extortions of Moloſſus, the Athenian commander, he landed ſuch a body of troops there, as proved ſufficient, with the aſſiſtance of his adherents, to expel the Athenians. Such a multiplication of calamities might have diſguſted that people with the war againſt Philip, whoſe hoſtility, directed againſt them alone, ſeemed to have forgotten the Phocians and Kerſobleptes; when ſecret but zealous partiſans of Macedon arrived at Athens, as ambaſſadors from Eubœa, commiſſioned to ſettle amicably all differences between the two countries. They obſerved, that Philip had left the iſland abſolutely free and independent; and that, though conſtrained to take arms in defence of his allies, he was ſincerely deſirous of making peace with the Athenians. The repreſentations of the Eubœan ambaſſadors were enforced by the influence of two Athenians, Ariſtodemus and Neoptolemus, the firſt diſtinguiſhed as a player, the ſecond as a player and poet, who having acquired fortunes in Macedon, returned to their own coun-

His deceitful embaſſy to Athens.

* In the chronology of theſe events, I have followed Dr. Leland. See his life of Philip, vol. ii. p. 43. The events themſelves are related in the oration of Demoſthenes, commonly intitled the Firſt Philippic, but which the Doctor, with great probability, conſiders as two diſtinct orations ſpoken at different times.

try,

CHAP. XXXV.

try, to forward the measures of their liberal protector. They affirmed, that the King of Macedon earnestly wished to live on good terms with the republic; and the Athenians paid much regard to men whose talents were then highly esteemed, and who remitted the riches amassed in a foreign country, to purchase lands in Attica, and to supply with alacrity the exigencies of the public service.

in vain exposed by Demosthenes.

Demosthenes saw through these dark and deep artifices[43]; but in vain endeavoured to alarm the unsuspecting credulity of his countrymen. On a future occasion, after the plot had become manifest, he upbraids their careless indifference and delusion at this important crisis. "Had you been spectators in the theatre, and not deliberating on matters of the highest moment, you could not have heard Neoptolemus with more indulgence, nor me with more resentment[44]."

Æschines returns from his embassy, and awakens the public resentment against Philip.

Such was the disposition of the assembly, when Æschines returned from his Peloponnesian embassy. He had assembled the great council of the Arcadians; revealed to them the dangerous views of Philip, which threatened the liberty of Greece; and, notwithstanding the powerful opposition of Hieronymus, and other Macedonian partisans, had engaged that people to approve the patriot zeal of Athens, and to deliberate on taking arms in the common cause. In relating the success of his embassy, he inveighed with great severity against

[43] Demosthen. de Chersoneso, & de Pace.
[44] Demosthen. de Chersoneso.

those

CHAP. XXXV.

thoſe mercenary traitors, who had ſold the intereſts of their country to a cruel tyrant. The Greeks had full warning of their danger. The miſerable fate of Olynthus ought ever to be before their eyes. At his return through Peloponneſus, he had beheld a ſight ſufficient to melt the moſt obdurate heart; thirty young Olynthians, of both ſexes, driven like a herd of cattle, as a preſent from Philip to ſome of the unworthy inſtruments of his ambition [45].

The ſuſceptible and ever-varying temper of the multitude was deeply affected by the repreſentations of Æſchines: the pacific advices of Neoptolemus and his aſſociates were forgotten; war and revenge again echoed through the aſſembly. At the requiſition of Æſchines, ambaſſadors were diſpatched to confirm the hoſtile reſolutions of the Arcadians, and to awaken the terror of the neighbouring republics. The Athenian youth were aſſembled in the temple of Agraulos to ſwear irreconcilable hatred againſt Philip and the Macedonians; and the moſt awful imprecations were denounced againſt the mercenary traitors who cooperated with the public enemy. This fermentation might at length have purified into ſtrong and deciſive meaſures; and had Philip poſſeſſed only an ordinary degree of vigilance, a confederacy might have been yet formed in Greece ſufficient to repel the Macedonians arms. But that conſummate politician thought nothing done while any

[45] Demoſthen. de falſa Legatione, ſect. 5.

thing

thing was neglected; and, as he allowed not the slightest opportunity to pass unimproved, he often derived very important benefits from seemingly inconsiderable causes. CHAP. XXXV.

An Athenian of the name of Phrynon, a man wealthy and powerful, had been attacked, robbed and confined, by some Macedonian soldiers, who obliged him to purchase his liberty by a very considerable ransom [46]. As this violence had been committed during the fifteen days of truce that followed the celebration of the Olympic games, Phrynon very reasonably supposed that the King of Macedon, who had long been ambitious of obtaining a place in the Grecian confederacy, would not abet this act of aggravated impiety. He had therefore requested his countrymen, who at that time prepared to negociate with Philip an exchange of prisoners, to join him in commission with Ctesiphon, a man of experience and capacity, who had been already named to that embassy, imagining that by appearing in a public character, he might the more easily recover the ransom and other monies that had been unjustly extorted from him. Having arrived in Macedon, the ambassadors were received and treated by Philip with uncommon politeness and respect; their demands were most obligingly granted, or rather prevented; the King apologised to Phrynon for the ignorant rusticity of his soldiers, which had led them to act so unwarrantably; and he lamented both to Phrynon and Ctesiphon, the necessity of their present

Dexterity of that prince in diverting the storm.

[46] Æschines de falsa Legatione.

mission,

CHAP. XXXV.

miſſion, ſince he had nothing more ſincerely at heart than to live on good terms with their republic [47]. At their return to Athens, the repreſentations of ſuch men could not be without weight; nor could they fail to be extremely favourable to the King of Macedon.

He improves every favourable incident

Another incident followed, which was improved with no leſs dexterity [48]. At the taking and ſack of Olynthus, Stratocles, and Eucrates, two Athenians of diſtinction, had been ſeized and carried into Macedon. By ſome accident theſe men had not been releaſed with the other priſoners. Their relations were anxious for their ſafety, and therefore applied to the Athenians, that a proper perſon might be ſent to treat of their ranſom. Ariſtodemus was employed in this commiſſion, but was more diligent in paying his court than in performing his duty; and, at his return home, neglected to give an account of his negociation. Philip, meanwhile, whoſe vigilance never ſlept, and who well knew the hoſtile reſolutions in agitation againſt him at Athens, releaſed the priſoners without ranſom, and diſmiſſed them with the higheſt expreſſions of regard. Moved by gratitude, Stratocles appeared in the aſſembly, blazed forth the praiſes of the King of Macedon, and loudly complained againſt the careleſs indifference of Ariſtodemus, who had neglected to report his embaſſy [49].

The Athenians are perſuaded

The artful player, thus called upon to act his part, excuſed his omitting to relate *one* example of

[47] Æſchin. de falſa Legatione. [48] Id. ibid. [49] Id. ibid.

kindneſs

kindneſs in a man who had recently given ſo many proofs of the moſt unbounded generoſity. He expatiated on the candour and benevolence of Philip, and eſpecially on his profound reſpect for the republic, with which, he aſſured them, the King of Macedon was earneſt to conclude a peace, and even to enter into an alliance, on the moſt honourable and advantageous terms. He probably reminded them of the misfortunes which had attended their arms ever ſince they commenced war againſt this prince. Fifteen hundred talents expended with diſgrace; ſeventy-five dependent cities, including thoſe of the Chalcidic region, loſt irrecoverably; Olynthus deſtroyed; Eubœa revolted; Athens diſhonoured and exhauſted; and Macedon more powerful and more reſpected than at any former period. This repreſentation did not exceed the truth; and the calamities of the war had long inclined to peace the more moderate and judicious portion of the aſſembly. The artificial generoſity of Philip, in his treatment of Phrynon and Stratocles, blazoned by the eloquence of Ariſtodemus, fixed the wavering irreſolution of the multitude. The military preparations were ſuſpended. Even Demoſthenes and Æſchines yielded to the torrent; and imagining that a bad peace was better than a bad war (ſince it was impoſſible to expect ſucceſs from the fluctuating councils of their country), ſupported a decree[50] of Philocrates for ſending a

CHAP. XXXV.

to ſend an embaſſy to Philip.

[50] The decree was attacked by one Lucinus. Demoſthenes defended it: and both Demoſthenes and Æſchines, as appears from the text, were on the embaſſy.

herald

CHAP. XXXV.

herald and ambaſſadors to penetrate the real intentions of Philip, and to ſift thoſe terms of accommodation with which he had ſo long amuſed them.

Character of the ambaſſadors.

The miniſters appointed to this commiſſion ſeem to have been purpoſely choſen among men of oppoſite principles, who might mutually be checks on each other. Phrynon, Cteſiphon, Ariſtodemus, and Philocrates, who had uniformly teſtified their confidence in the King of Macedon, were oppoſed by Æſchines and Demoſthenes, who had long diſcovered their ſuſpicions of that prince. To the embaſſy were added Nauſicles and Dercyllus, men diſtinguiſhed by the public offices which they had diſcharged with equal patriotiſm and fidelity; Iatrocles, the choſen friend of Æſchines; and Cimon, illuſtrious for the name he bore, which deſcended to him from the greateſt and moſt fortunate of the Athenian commanders. The whole number amounted to ten, beſides Agalocreon of Tenedos, who was ſent on the part of the Greek iſlands in alliance with Athens [51].

Difficulties occaſioned by the quarrel between Demoſthenes and Æſchines.

Thus far contemporary authors agree; but in deſcribing the events which followed the departure of the ambaſſadors, all is inconſiſtency and contradiction. The miſunderſtanding that aroſe between Æſchines and Demoſthenes, the former of whom was impeached by the latter, furniſh us, in the accuſation and defence, with the fulleſt and moſt diffuſe, but at the ſame time the leaſt authentic, materials, that preſent themſelves in any paſſage of

[51] Demoſthen. & Æſchin. de falſa Legatione.

Grecian

CHAP. XXXV.

Grecian hiſtory. The whole train of the negociation, as well as the events connected with it, are repreſented in colours the moſt diſcordant; facts are aſſerted and denied; while both parties appeal to the memory of the aſſembly before which they ſpoke, to the teſtimony of witneſſes, and even to the evidence of public decrees and records; circumſtances that muſt appear very extraordinary, unleſs we conſider that ſuborning of witneſſes, perjury and even the falſifying of laws and records, were crimes not unuſual at Athens [52]. Amidſt this confuſion, the diſcerning eye of criticiſm would vainly endeavour to penetrate the truth. Æſchines was indeed acquitted by his countrymen. But nothing poſitive can be learned from a partial ſentence, pronounced three years after the alleged crimes had been committed, when the power of Philip had increaſed to ſuch an alarming degree, as gave his faction a decided aſcendant even in the Athenian aſſembly.

Account of the negociation. Olymp. cviii. 1. cviii. 2. A. C. 348. and 347.

To diſentangle ſuch perplexity, we ſhall keep chiefly to thoſe facts which are allowed on both ſides, deducing from them ſuch conſequences as ſeem moſt natural and probable. In the courſe of one year, three embaſſies were ſent to Philip; the firſt to propoſe a peace, the ſecond to ratify it, the third to ſee the conditions of it fulfilled; and in that ſpace of time Kerſobleptes, being ſtripped of his dominions, was reduced into captivity, and Philip having ſeized Thermopylæ, invaded Phocis,

[52] See my Diſcourſe on the Characters and Manners of the Athenians, prefixed to Lyſias and Iſocrates.

and

CHAP. XXXV.

and destroyed the twenty-two cities of that province in less than twenty two days. Nor was this all: a foreign prince having made himself master of Thermopylæ and the Helespont, the most valuable safeguards of Greece — having invaded and desolated the territory of a Grecian republic, the most respectable for its antiquity, power, and wealth, the seat of the Amphictyonic council, and of the revered oracle of Delphi. These daring measures tended so little to excite the displeasure of Greece, that the King of Macedon had no sooner accomplished them, than he threatened to attack Athens (who weakly lamented calamities which she had neither prudence nor courage to prevent) at the head of a general confederacy of the Amphictyonic states.

Dissension of the ambassadors.

Such extraordinary transactions, of which history scarcely offers another example for the instruction of posterity, Demosthenes ascribes entirely to the corruption and perfidy of the Athenian ambassadors. "The felicity of Philip," he says, "consists chiefly in this; that having occasion for traitors, fortune has given him men treacherous and corrupt beyond his most sanguine hopes and prayers[53]." This doubtless is the exaggeration of an orator, desirous by every means to blacken the character of his colleagues in the embassy, and particularly that of his adversary Æschines. Yet it will appear, from the most careful survey of the

[53] Subsequent writers have copied the language of Demosthenes. καὶ χρημάτων πλῆθος διάδους τοῖς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ἰσχύουσι, πολλὴν ἔσχε προδοτὰς τῶν πατρίδων. Diodorus, ubi supra.

events

events of thoſe times, that the incapacity and neglect, if not the treaſon, of the Athenian miniſters, greatly contributed to the ſucceſs of the Macedonian arms. CHAP. XXXV.

From the firſt moment of their departure from Athens, the ambaſſadors began to betray their mutual jealouſies and ſuſpicions of each other's fidelity. The dangerous character of Philocrates was equally dreaded by Æſchines and Demoſthenes[54]; and the latter, if we may believe his rival, ſo much diſguſted the other ambaſſadors by the moroſe ſeverity of his temper, that they had almoſt excluded him their ſociety; a circumſtance rendered credible, not merely by the partial evidence of an adverſary, but by the reſentment and indignation always expreſſed by Demoſthenes againſt the behaviour of his colleagues. Having arrived at Pella, they were introduced to an audience; and ſpoke, as had been agreed on, in the order of their ſeniority. The diſcourſe of Æſchines was the moſt copious and elaborate, but ſeemed rather calculated for gaining merit with the Athenian aſſembly, than for influencing the conduct of Philip. "He recalled to the memory of the King, the favours of the Athenians towards his anceſtors, the diſtreſſed condition of the children of Amyntas; the ſolicitations of Eurydicé; and the generous interpoſitions of Iphicrates, to whom the family of Philip owed the crown of Macedon. Having touched ſlightly on the ungrateful returns made by Ptolemy and Perdiccas, he dwelt on the

Conference of the ambaſſadors with Philip.

Speech of Æſchines.

[54] Demoſthen. & Æſchin. de falſa Legatione.

CHAP. XXXV.

injuſtice of thoſe hoſtilities which Philip had committed againſt the republic, eſpecially in taking Amphipolis, which his father Amyntas had acknowledged to be a dependent colony of Athens. He inſiſted on the impropriety of retaining this poſſeſſion, which, as it could not be claimed by any ancient title, neither could it be held by the right of conqueſt, not being gained in any war between the two ſtates. In the time of profound peace between Athens and Macedon, Philip had taken from the Amphipolitans an Athenian city, which it concerned his juſtice and his honour to reſtore, without delay, to its lawful and acknowledged owners."

That of Demoſthenes.

Had Æſchines wiſhed to furniſh Philip with a pretence for protracting the negociation, he could not have done it more effectually than by ſuch a demand. It could not poſſibly be expected, that a victorious monarch ſhould ſet bounds to his own triumphs, in order to purchaſe peace by tamely ſurrendering one of the moſt important of his acquiſitions. In this light the propoſal appeared to Demoſthenes, who thought that his colleague had totally forgotten the object of the embaſſy, the diſtreſſed ſtate of Athens, how greatly the people had been haraſſed by the war, and how eagerly they wiſhed for peace. It was now his own turn to ſpeak before a prince whom he had often and highly offended, whoſe character and actions he had ever viewed and repreſented with the utmoſt ſeverity; but whom, on the preſent occaſion, it was his buſineſs to ſooth rather than to irritate.

The

CHAP. XXXV.

The novelty of the ſituation might have diſconcerted a man of leſs ſenſibility than Demoſthenes. The envious jealouſy of his colleagues was prepared to liſten, with a malicious ear, to thoſe irreſiſtible arguments which the orator is ſaid to have promiſed, with a very unbecoming confidence; the Macedonian courtiers expected ſome prodigy of eloquence from the perpetual opponent of their admired maſter. Amidſt the ſilent ſuſpenſe of an unfavourable audience, Demoſthenes began to ſpeak with ungraceful heſitation, and, after uttering a few obſcure and interrupted ſentences, his memory totally forſook him. Philip endeavoured to remove his embarraſſment with a mortifying politeneſs, telling him that he was not now in a theatre [55], where ſuch an accident might be attended with diſagreeable conſequences; and exhorting him to take time for recollection, and to purſue his intended diſcourſe. Demoſthenes again began, but without better ſucceſs. The aſſembly beheld his confuſion with a malignant pleaſure; and the ambaſſadors were ordered to withdraw.

His embarraſſment and confuſion.

After a proper interval, they were ſummoned to the royal preſence. Philip received them with great dignity, and anſwered with preciſion and elegance the arguments reſpectively uſed by the ſeveral ſpeakers, particularly thoſe of Æſchines.

Philip anſwers the ambaſſadors;

[55] Notwithſtanding the paſſion of the Athenians for dramatic entertainments, and their conſideration for the character of players beyond that of any other nation, they were indecently ſevere againſt their negligences and faults on the theatre; as appears from various paſſages of the judicial orations of Demoſthenes and Æſchines.

CHAP. XXXV.

The confuſed hints of Demoſthenes he paſſed over with merited neglect; thus proving to the world, that the man who had ever arraigned him with moſt ſeverity in the tumultuous aſſemblies of Greece, had not dared to ſay any thing in his preſence which deſerved the ſmalleſt notice or reply. The ambaſſadors were then invited to an entertainment, where Demoſthenes is ſaid to have behaved with great weakneſs, and where Philip diſplayed ſuch powers of merriment and feſtivity, as eclipſed his talents for negociation and war. The ambaſſadors were perſuaded of his candour and ſincerity, and diſmiſſed with a letter to the people of Athens, aſſuring them that his intentions were truly pacific, and that as ſoon as they conſented to an alliance with him, he would freely indulge thoſe ſentiments of affection and reſpect which he had ever entertained for their republic.

invites them to an entertainment.

Their departure from Macedon.

Artifices of Demoſthenes.

The mortification which Demoſthenes had received, made him at firſt vent his chagrin by condemning the conduct of his colleagues; but when he reflected, that a fair repreſentation of facts would greatly depreciate his character at Athens, policy prevailed over reſentment. He began privately to tamper with his companions on the road, freely rallied the confuſion into which he had been betrayed, extolled the ready genius and memory of Æſchines; and endeavoured, by promiſes and flattery, to ingratiate himſelf with thoſe whom his recent behaviour had juſtly provoked and diſguſted. In a converſation at Lariſſa in Theſſaly, he acknowledged the maſterly reaſon-

CHAP. XXXV.

ing of the King of Macedon. The ambaſſadors all joined in the praiſes of this extraordinary man. Æſchines admired the ſtrength and perſpicuity with which he had anſwered their reſpective diſcourſes; and Cteſiphon cried out in tranſport, that, in the courſe of a long life, he had never beheld a man of ſuch a polite and engaging deportment. Demoſthenes then artfully ſaid, "he apprehended they would not venture to make ſuch repreſentations to the Athenian aſſembly; that their honour and ſafety required them to be conſiſtent in their reports;" to which they all aſſented; and Æſchines acknowledges, that he was prevailed on by the intreaties of his rival to promiſe, that he would give a favourable and falſe account of the behaviour of Demoſthenes, and aſſure the people of Athens, that he had ſpoken with dignity and firmneſs on the affair of Amphipolis.

They report their negociation to the ſenate.

According to the forms of the republic, the ambaſſadors firſt reported the ſucceſs of their negociation, and delivered the letter of Philip, to the ſenate of the Five Hundred. They explained, in order, what each had ſaid in preſence of the King; when Demoſthenes, riſing up the laſt, affirmed with his uſual oath of aſſeveration [s], "that the ambaſſadors had not ſpoken in the ſenate as they did before Philip; that they had ſpoken much better in Macedon:" he then moved, that they ſhould be honoured with a crown of

[s] Μα Δια, indecently explained "by Jove," ſince the expreſſion is elliptical, and includes a ſhort prayer, ευχομαι τον Δια σωζειν τα ειμα; "my aſſertion is true, may Jove thus protect me."

CHAP. XXXV.

sacred olive [56], and invited next day to an entertainment in the Prytanæum [57].

The fame reported to the assembly.

The day following, they made their report to the assembly of the people; when the ambassadors, finding the subject not disagreeable to their hearers, expatiated on the politeness, condescension, eloquence, and abilities of the prince, with whom their republic was ready not only to negociate a peace, but to contract an alliance. Having allowed them to exhaust this fertile subject, Demosthenes at length arose, and, after those contortions of body which, if we believe his adversary, were familiar to him, declared, that he was equally surprised at those who, in a deliberation of such importance, could talk of such trifles, and at those who could endure to hear them. "The negociation may be briefly reported. Here is the decree by which we are commissioned. We have executed this commission. Here is Philip's answer (pointing to the letter.) You have only to examine its contents." A confused murmur arose in the assembly, some applauding the strength and precision of the speech, others condemning the asperity of the speaker. As soon as he could be heard, Demosthenes thus proceeded: "You shall see how I will lop off those superfluous matters. Æschines praises the memory and eloquence of Philip, in which, however, I find nothing extraordinary, since any other man, placed in the same avantage-

Extraordinary behaviour of Demosthenes.

[56] See the discourse of Lysias on an accusation for cutting down a consecrated olive.

[57] Æschin. de falsa Legatione.

ous

CHAP. XXXV.

ous circumſtances of rank and fortune, would be equally attended to and admired. Cteſiphon praiſes the gracefulneſs and dignity of his perſon; my colleague Ariſtodemus does not yield to him in theſe particulars. Others admire his mirth and gaiety at table, yet in ſuch qualities Philocrates excels him [58]. But this is unſeaſonable. I ſhall therefore draw up a decree for convening an extraordinary aſſembly, to deliberate on the peace and the alliance [59]."

Philip ſends ambaſſadors to Athens.

The decree was propoſed on the eight of March, and the aſſembly was fixed for the ſeventeenth of the ſame month. In the interval, arrived, as ambaſſadors from Philip, Antipater, the moſt reſpected of his miniſters; Parmenio, the braveſt of his generals; and Eurylochus, who united, almoſt in an equal degree, the praiſe of eloquence and valour. Parmenio had been employed in the ſiege of Halus, a place filled with malcontents from Theſſaly, who ſtill reſiſted the Macedonian power in that country. That he might have leiſure to join his colleagues, Parmenio ordered the ſiege to be converted into a blockade; and the merit of three ſuch ambaſſadors ſufficiently announced the important purpoſes which Philip wiſhed to effect by the preſent negociation. They were received with great diſtinction by the ſenate, and (what ſeems extraordinary) lodged in the houſe of Demoſthenes,

[58] Even by Demoſthenes's teſtimony, it required the combination of ſeveral Athenian characters to match the various excellencies of Philip.

[59] Æſchin. de falſa Legatione.

CHAP. XXXV.

who was careful to adorn their ſeats in the theatre, and to diſtinguiſh them by every other mark of honour [60]. Having been introduced, on the appointed day, into the aſſembly, they declared the object of their commiſſion; to conclude in the name of their maſter a peace and alliance with the people of Athens. Demoſthenes, in an elaborate ſpeech, urged the expediency of liſtening to their demands; but without neglecting the intereſt of the Athenian allies. Æſchines delivered the ſame opinion, and ſeverely reproached Philocrates, who urged the neceſſity of precipitating the treaty. The two firſt days were ſpent in debate; but on the third, the influence of Philocrates prevailed, chiefly, if we believe Demoſthenes, through the unexpected acceſſion of Æſchines to that party. He, who had hitherto been a ſtrenuous defender of the intereſt of Perſobleptes, declared that he had now altered his opinion. That peace was neceſſary for Athens, and ought not to be retarded by the ſlow deliberations of other powers. That the circumſtances of the republic were changed; and that, in their actual ſituation, it was an idle vanity to attend to thoſe who flattered them with pompous panegyrics of the magnanimity of their anceſtors; ſince the weakneſs of Athens was no longer called on to undertake the protection of every ſtate that could not defend its own cauſe [61].

who corrupt Æſchines.

During the negociation Philip

Demoſthenes had formerly ſuſpected the treachery of Æſchines; but this ſpeech fully convinced him,

[60] Æſchin. in Cteſiphont. [61] Demoſthen. de falſa Legatione.

that

CHAP. XXXV.

that if his adverſary had not before ſold himſelf to Philip, he had then been tampered with, and gained by the Macedonian ambaſſadors. But Demoſthenes, and the aſſembly in general, ſaw the neceſſity of immediately ratifying the peace with that prince, who had actually taken the field in Thrace, along the coaſt of which the Athenians ſtill poſſeſſed Serrium, Doriſcus, and ſeveral other tributary cities. A decree was propoſed for this purpoſe, and ambaſſadors were named, who might, with all convenient ſpeed, repair to Philip, in order mutually to give and receive the oaths and ratifications of the treaty juſt concluded at Athens. The ambaſſadors were Eubulus, Æſchines, Cteſiphon, Democrates, and Cleon; the principal of whom, being entirely devoted to the Macedonian intereſt, contrived various pretences to delay their departure. In this interval, Kerſobleptes met with the unhappy fate of which we have already taken notice; and Philip, encouraged by the ſucceſs of his intrigues, ventured to attack the cities of Serrium and Doriſcus, which readily ſubmitted to his arms[61]. Upon intelligence of the latter event, the Athenians diſpatched Euclides to inform the King of Macedon, that the places which he had taken belonged to Athens; to which he coldly replied, that he had not been ſo inſtructed by his ambaſſadors, nor was there any mention of thoſe cities in the treaty recently ſigned, but not yet ratified, between the two powers.

continues to make conqueſts in Thrace.

Æſchines and his colleagues ſtill delayed to ſet out, although the conduct of Philip continually

Third embaſſy to Philip.

[61] Demoſthen. Orat. v. in Philipp.

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CHAP. XXXV.

urged the neceſſity of haſtening their departure. They were finally ordered to be gone, in conſequence of a decree propoſed by Demoſthenes [61], who was unable to prevail on the Athenians, till it was too late, to pay due regard to the intereſt of Kerſobleptes. In twenty-five days the Athenian miniſters arrived at Pella, a journey which they might have performed in ſix; and inſtead of directly proceeding to Philip, who was employed in reducing the cities on the Propontis, they patiently waited, above three weeks, the return of that monarch to his capital. During their reſidence in Pella, they were joined by Demoſthenes, who, at his own requeſt, had been added to this commiſſion, under pretence of ranſoming ſome Athenian captives, but in reality with a view to watch the conduct of his colleagues. Philip at length arrived: the ambaſſadors were called to an audience. On this occaſion they ſpoke not as formerly, according to their reſpective ages, but in an order, if we believe Æſchines, firſt eſtabliſhed by the imprudence of Demoſthenes; whoſe diſcourſe, as repreſented by his adverſary, muſt have appeared highly ridiculous, even in an age when the decent formality of public tranſactions was little known or regarded.

Speech of Demoſthenes;

Anticipating his more experienced colleagues, he obſerved, "That they were unfortunately divided in their views and ſentiments. That his own were ſtrictly conformable to thoſe of Philip. From the beginning he had adviſed a peace and alliance

[61] Demoſth. de falſa Legatione.

with

CHAP. XXXV.

with Macedon. That he had procured all poſſible honours for the ambaſſadors of that country during their reſidence in Athens, and had afterwards eſcorted their journey as far as Thebes. He knew that his good intentions had been miſpreſented to Philip, on account of ſome expreſſions that had dropped from him in the Athenian aſſembly. But if he had denied the ſuperior excellence of that prince in beauty, in drinking, and in debate [64], it was that he believed ſuch qualities to belong to a woman, a ſponge, and a hireling rhetorician and ſophiſt, rather than to a warlike monarch, and mighty conqueror." This extraordinary apology excited the deriſion of the Macedonian courtiers, and made the Athenian ambaſſadors hold down their heads in confuſion [65].

of Æſchines.

Æſchines firſt recovered his compoſure; and modeſtly addreſſing Philip, obſerved, "That the preſent was not a proper occaſion for the Athenian miniſters to praiſe or defend their own conduct. They had been deemed worthy of their commiſſion by the republic which employed them, and to which alone they were accountable [66]. Their actual buſineſs was to receive Philip's oath in ratification of the treaty already concluded on the part of Athens. The military preparations carrying on in every part of Macedon could not but ex-

[64] See above, p. 119.

[65] Æſchin. de falſa Legatione.

[66] The ſpeech of Æſchines, as reported by himſelf, is inimitably graceful and dignified. Λεγων· ὁτι πεμψαντων ημας Αθηναιοι πρεσβεις, &c. Vid. p. 261, & ſeqq. edit. Wolf.

CHAP. XXXV.

cite their fears for the unhappy Phocians. But he intreated Philip, that, if he was determined to gratify the Thebans by making war on that unfortunate people, he would make at leaſt a proper diſtinction between the innocent and the guilty. The ſacrilegious violators of the temple ought to be puniſhed with due ſeverity; the ſtate itſelf muſt be ſpared; ſince the laws and inſtitutions of Greece guard the ſafety of every Amphictyonic city. Æſchines then ſpoke, in the ſevereſt terms, againſt the injuſtice and cruelty of the Thebans, who, he ventured to propheſy, would repay the partiality of Philip with the ſame falſehood and ingratitude with which they had been accuſtomed to requite their former allies and benefactors."

Philip's profound diſſimulation.

The diſcourſe of Æſchines, though it could not be expected to move the reſolution of the King, was well calculated to raiſe the credit of the ſpeaker, when it ſhould be reported in his own country. Philip confined himſelf to vague expreſſions of friendſhip and reſpect. The ambaſſadors of Thebes were already at Pella, a circumſtance which furniſhed him with a pretence for declining to make an explicit declaration in favour of Phocis. But he hinted his compaſſionate concern for the Phocians; and requeſted the Athenians to accompany him to Theſſaly, that he might avail himſelf of their abilities and experience to ſettle the affairs of that country, which required his immediate preſence. Extraordinary as this demand was, the Athenians readily complied with it, notwithſtanding the King, who had ordered his army to march, was attended

attended in this expedition by the ambaſſadors of Thebes, who as well as the Athenians, were daily entertained at his table, and whoſe views were diametrically oppoſite to the intereſts both of Phocis and of Athens [67]. CHAP. XXXV.

The unhappy and diſtracted ſituation of the former republic promiſed a ſpeedy iſſue to the Sacred War, which, for more than two years, had been feebly carried on between the Phocians on one ſide, and the Thebans and Locrians on the other, by ſuch petty incurſions and ravages, as indicated the inveterate rancour of combatants, who ſtill retained the deſire of hurting, after they had loſt the power [68]. During the greater part of that time, the Athenians, amuſed by their negociation with Philip, afforded no aſſiſtance to their unfortunate allies. The treaſures of Delphi, immenſe as they were, at length began to fail. The Phocians, thus abandoned and exhauſted, reflected with terror and remorſe on their paſt conduct; and, in order to make attonement for their ſacrilegious violations of the temple, inſtituted a judicial enquiry againſt Phaleucus, their general, and his accomplices, in plundering the dedications to Apollo [69]. Several were condemned to death; Phaleucus was depoſed; and the Phocians, having performed theſe ſubſtantial acts of juſtice, which tended to remove the odium that had long adhered to their cauſe, ſolicited with better hopes of ſucceſs the aſſiſtance of Sparta and Athens.

The Phocian war carried on with little activity on either ſide. Olymp. cviii. 2. A. C. 349.

The Phocians condemn the plunderers of the temple.

[67] Demoſthen. de falſa Legatione.
[68] Diodor. l. xvi. p. 454.
[69] Idem, l. xvi. p. 452.

But

CHAP. XXXV.

The Spartans claim the superintendence of the temple.

But the crafty Archidamus, who had long directed the Spartan councils, conſidered the diſtreſs of the Phocians as a favourable opportunity to urge the claim of his own republic to the ſuperintendence of the Delphic temple; and actually ſent ambaſſadors into Theſſaly, to confer with the King of Macedon on that ſubject [70]. The Athenians paid more attention to the requeſt of their allies, who, as an inducement to excite their activity, offered to put them in poſſeſſion of the towns of Nicæa, Alpenus, and Thronium, which commanded the ſtraits of Thermopylæ. But this ſalutary plan, which might have retarded the fate of Greece, was defeated by Phaleucus, who commanding eight thouſand mercenaries, that acknowledged no authority but that of their general, eſtabliſhed his head-quarters at Nicæa, and deſpiſed the menaces both of Phocis and of Athens.

Phaleucus and his mercenaries ſeize Nicæa.

Diſaſter of the Phocians in the temple of Abæan Apollo.

Mortifying as this diſappointment muſt have been, it was followed by a diſaſter in another quarter far more afflicting. The Phocians had fortified the city of Abæ, to defend their northern frontier againſt the depredations of the Locrians. The Thebans, reinforced by ſome auxiliaries of Macedon, marched againſt that place. The Phocians, with more courage than prudence, met them in the field; but were defeated with great ſlaughter, and purſued in their diſordered flight, through the ſurrounding territory. A party of above five hundred took refuge in the temple of Abæan

[70] Demoſthen. & Æſchin. ubi ſupra.

Apollo,

CHAP. XXXV.

Apollo, where they remained for ſeveral days, ſleeping under the porticoes, on beds of dried herbs, ſtraw, and other combuſtible materials. An accidental fire, that began in the night, was communicated to the whole edifice, part of which was conſumed, while the unhappy Phocians were ſtifled, or burnt to aſhes [71].

The Thebans failed not to repreſent this calamity as a judgment of Heaven, againſt the daring impiety of wretches, who had ventured to take refuge in the temple of a god whom their ſacrilege had long offended. They entreated Philip to aſſiſt them in deſtroying the remnant of the guilty race. This was the chief purpoſe of their embaſſy to that Prince whom the Athenians, as related above, entreated to ſpare the nation, while he puniſhed the criminals; and the Lacedæmonians, regardleſs of the fate of Phocis, thought only of making good their ancient claim to the guardianſhip of the Delphic temple.

The Thebans inſtigate Philip to deſolate Phocis.

Philip treated the deputies of the three republics with apparent frankneſs and cordiality, under the veil of which he knew ſo well to diſguiſe the intereſts of his policy and ambition. He aſſured the Thebans, that his arms ſhould be employed to recover for them the towns of Orchomenus, Coronæa, and Tilphuſium, which, ever ready to rebel againſt a tyrannical capital, had readily revolted to the Phocians during their invaſion of Bœotia. The Phocians, he ſaid, had rendered

Philip attempts in vain to corrupt the Theban ambaſſadors.

[71] Diodorus, p. 454.

themſelves

CHAP. XXXV.

themſelves the objects of divine diſpleaſure; it would be as meritorious to puniſh, as it was impious to protect them. He was determined that both they and their allies ſhould ſuffer thoſe calamities which their crimes ſo juſtly deſerved. Thus far Philip was ſincere; for, in theſe particulars, the views of Thebes were exactly conformable to his own. But in his mind he agitated other matters, in which the intereſt of Thebes interfered with that of Macedon. To accompliſh thoſe purpoſes, without offending his allies, it was neceſſary to gain the ambaſſadors. Careſſes, flattery, and promiſes, were laviſhed in vain. Money was at length tendered with a profuſe liberality; but, though no man ever poſſeſſed more addreſs than Philip in rendering his bribes acceptable, the Theban deputies remained honeſt and uncorrupted, firmly maintaining to the end their patriotiſm and their honour. Philon, the chief of the embaſſy, anſwered for his colleagues: "We are already perſuaded of your friendſhip for us, independent of your preſents. Reſerve your generoſity for our country, on which it will be more profitably beſtowed, ſince your favours conferred on Thebes, will ever excite the gratitude both of that republic

Philip corrupts and deceives the Athenian ambaſſadors

[illegible]

Demoſthenes extols the dignity of this reply, as becoming rather the ambaſſadors of Athens. But theſe miniſters, though one object of their commiſſion was to ſave the Grecian ſtate which the

[illegible]

[illegible] Demoſthen. de falſa Legatione.

Thebans

Thebans wiſhed to deſtroy, diſcovered neither integrity nor ſpirit. All of them, but Demoſthenes himſelf, accepted the preſents of the King of Macedon, who found little difficulty in perſuading men, thus prepoſſeſſed in his favour, that he pitied the Phocians; that he reſpected Athens; that he deteſted the inſolence of Thebes; and that, ſhould he ever proceed to the ſtraits of Thermopylæ, his expedition would be more dangerous to that ſtate than to its enemies. At preſent however he obſerved, that he had private reaſons for managing the friendſhip of a people who ſet no bounds to their reſentment. From ſuch motives he had hitherto declined ratifying the peace with Athens; but this meaſure he would no longer defer. He only entreated, that to ſave appearances with the Thebans, the name of the Phocians might be omitted in the treaty. This arduous work was at length brought to a concluſion; and for the more ſecrecy, tranſacted in a place which Demoſthenes calls a tavern, adjoining to the temple of Pollux, in the neighbourhood of Pheræ. The Athenian ambaſſadors took leave, affecting to be perſuaded (perhaps perſuaded in reality) of the good intentions of the King of Macedon. About the ſame time the ambaſſadors of Sparta departed, but with far leſs ſatisfaction. They either perceived, from the beginning, the artifices of the prince with whom they came to treat, or at leaſt made ſuch a report to Archidamus, as convinced him that his republic had not any advantage to expect from the preponderance of the Macedonian intereſt,

CHAP. XXXV.

CHAP. XXXV.

tereſt, and the deſtruction of the Phocians; and that ſhould the Spartans perſiſt in their claim to the ſuperintendance of the Delphic temple, they muſt prepare to aſſert it by force of arms.

Philip's flattering letter to the Athenians.

Archidamus raiſed an army for this purpoſe, and marched towards the ſtraits. But the intrigues of Philip, as we ſhall have occaſion to relate, rendered his hoſtility as impotent as his negociations had been fruitleſs. From Theſſaly that prince had already ſent a letter to the Athenians, couched in the moſt artful terms. He expreſſed his profound reſpect for the ſtate, and his high eſteem for its ambaſſadors; declaring that he ſhould omit no opportunity of proving how earneſtly he deſired to promote the proſperity and glory of Athens. He requeſted that the means might be pointed out to him, by which he could moſt effectually gratify the people. Of the conditions of the peace and alliance he was careful to make no mention: but after many other general declarations of his goodwill, he entreated them "not to be offended at his detaining their ambaſſadors, of whoſe eloquence and abilities he wiſhed to avail himſelf in ſettling the affairs of Theſſaly *."

Æſchines gives an account of the embaſſy to the Athenian aſſembly.

Soon afterwards theſe ambaſſadors returned home; and having given an account of their negociation to the ſenate of Five Hundred, with very little ſatisfaction to that ſelect body, they next appeared before the popular aſſembly. Æſchines firſt mounted the roſtrum, and in an elaborate and artful

* Demoſth. & Æſchin. ubi ſupra.

diſcourſe,

CHAP. XXXV.

diſcourſe, ſet forth the advantages reſulting from his ſucceſsful embaſſy, in which he had perſuaded Philip to embrace preciſely thoſe meaſures which the intereſt of Athens required. That, now, the people had peace inſtead of war, and that, without haraſſing themſelves by military expeditions, they had only to remain quietly at home, enjoying the amuſements of the city, and in a few days they would learn that Philip had paſſed Thermopylæ, to take vengeance, not on the Phocians, but on the Thebans, who had been the real authors of the war, and who, having entertained a deſign of ſeizing the temple, were not the leſs culpable (as had been proved to Philip) becauſe they had failed in this impious purpoſe. That the Bœotian allies of Theſpiæ and Platæa, whoſe hatred to Thebes was as inveterate as their attachment to Athens was ſincere, would be reſtored to their priſtine ſtrength and ſplendour. That the Thebans, not the Phocians, would be compelled to pay the fine impoſed by the Amphictyonic council, and to repair the fatal effects of ſacrilege and profanation. That the magiſtrates of Thebes foreſaw the hoſtility of Philip, and well knew by whom it had been excited. "They have therefore," ſaid Æſchines, "devoted me to deſtruction, and actually ſet a price upon my head. The people of Eubœa are equally alarmed by our accommodation with Philip, not doubting that their iſland will be reſtored to us as an equivalent for Amphipolis. Nor are theſe the only advantages of the treaty: another point of ſtill higher importance, a point of the

CHAP. XXXV.

moſt intimate concern to the public, has been ſecured. But of this I ſhall ſpeak at another time, ſince at preſent I perceive the envy and malignity of certain perſons ready to break forth." The advantage hinted at, with ſuch ſignificant obſcurity, was the recovery of Oropus, a conſiderable city on the Athenian frontier which had been long ſubject to Thebes.

The ſuſpicions of Demoſthenes ridiculed by his colleagues.

This ſpecious harangue, ſo flattering to the indolence and vain hopes of the multitude, was received with general approbation, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of Demoſthenes, who declared that he knew nothing of all thoſe great advantages promiſed by his colleague; and that he did not expect them. Æſchines and Philocrates heard him with the ſupercilious contempt of men in poſſeſſion of a ſecret with which he was unacquainted. But when he endeavoured to continue his diſcourſe, and to expoſe their artifice and inſincerity, all was clamour, indignation, and inſult. Æſchines bade him remember, not to claim any ſhare of the rewards due to the important ſervices of his colleagues. Philocrates, with an air of pleaſantry, ſaid, it was no wonder that the hopes of Demoſthenes were leſs ſanguine than his own, "ſince he drinks water; I wine." This inſipid jeſt was received with loud burſts of laughter and applauſe, which prevented the aſſembly from attending to the ſpirited remonſtrances of Demoſthenes. A motion was made, and agreed to, for thanking Philip for his equitable and friendly intentions, as well as for ratifying a perpetual peace and alliance between

Athens

Athens and Macedon. In the ſame decree it was determined that the Phocians ſhould ſubmit to the Amphictyonic council, under pain of incurring the diſpleaſure of the republic [74].

The ſucceſs of Philip's artifices with the Athenians deceives the Phocian ambaſſadors at Athens;

Theſe articles, together with the ſecret motives which produced them, were, by the emiſſaries of Philip, immediately communicated to the Phocian ambaſſadors then reſiding at Athens; who, tranſported with joy at the proſpect of averting the calamities which long threatened their country, loſt no time in tranſmiting the agreeable intelligence to their fellow-citizens. They concluded, with a high degree of probability, that, however Philip might deceive the Phocians, the miniſters of Athens could never be ſo bold as publicly to deceive the Athenians; and that, therefore, they could no longer entertain any reaſonable doubt of the favourable diſpoſition of the King of Macedon. This belief was ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, that when Archidamus marched into Phocis at the head of an army in order to defend the temple againſt Philip, the Phocians rejected his aſſiſtance, obſerving, that they feared for Sparta much more than for themſelves; upon which the Lacedæmonians returned into Peloponneſus [75].

which makes the Phocians reject the aſſiſtance of Sparta.

Philip negociates with Phaleucus the ceſſion of Nicæa.

Philip was now prepared for executing his grand enterpriſe. Halus, long beſieged, had ſubmitted to the united arms of Parmenio and his own. Freſh troops had arrived from Macedon. The Athenians were appeaſed; the Lacedæmonians had

[74] Demoſthen. de falſa Legatione. [75] Ibid.

CHAP. XXXV.

retired; the Phocians were impoſed on; the Theſſalians, Thebans and Locrians, were ready to follow his ſtandard. One obſtacle only remained, and that eaſy to be ſurmounted. Phaleucus, who commanded eight thouſand mercenaries, ſtill kept poſſeſſion of Nicæa. But a man who had betrayed the intereſt of his own republic, could not be very obſtinate in defending the cauſe of Greece. Philip entered into a negociation with him, in order to get poſſeſſion of Nicæa [n], without which it would have been impoſſible to paſs the Thermopylæ; and while this tranſaction was going forward, wrote repeated letters to the Athenians, full of cordiality and affection.

Philip continues to veil his deſigns in obſcurity.

He ſuſpected the dangerous capriciouſneſs of a people, whoſe ſecurity might yet be alarmed; and whoſe oppoſition might ſtill prove fatal to his deſigns, ſhould they either march forth to the ſtraits, or command their admiral Proxenus, who was ſtationed in the Opuntian gulph, between Locris and Eubœa, to intercept the Macedonian convoys; for, the frontiers both of Phocis and Theſſaly having long lain waſte in conſequence of the ſacred war, Philip received his proviſions chiefly by ſea. The ſeaſonable profeſſions of friendſhip, contained in the king's letters, not only kept the Athenians from liſtening to the remonſtrances of Demoſthenes, but prevailed on them to ſend northward that orator, together with Æſchines, and ſeveral others, whoſe advice and aſſiſtance Philip affected to deſire in ſettling the arduous buſineſs in which he was engaged. De-

[n] Diodor. l. xvi. p. 455.

moſthenes

CHAP. XXXV.

moſthenes ſaw through the artifice of his enemies, for withdrawing him, at this important criſis, from his duty in the aſſembly; he therefore abſolutely refuſed the commiſſion. Æſchines, on pretence of ſickneſs, ſtaid at home to watch and counteract the meaſures of his rival. The other ambaſſadors departed, in compliance with the requeſt of Philip, and the orders of their republic, and in hopes of ſeeing a treaty fulfilled, which, they had been taught to believe, would be attended with conſequences equally advantageous and honourable [77].

Diſaſters of Phaleucus and his followers.

While the ambaſſadors travelled through Eubœa, in their way to join the King of Macedon, they learned, to their utter aſtoniſhment, the wonderful events that had been tranſacted. Phaleucus had been perſuaded to evacuate Nicæa. He retired towards Peloponneſus, and embarked at Corinth, with a view to ſail to Italy, where he expected to form an eſtabliſhment. But the capricious and ungovernable temper of his followers compelled him to make a deſcent on the coaſt of Elis. After this they re-embarked, and ſailed to Crete, where their invaſion proved fatal to their general. Having returned to the Peloponneſus, they were defeated by the Elians and Arcadians. The greater part of thoſe who ſurvived the battle fell into the hands of the enemy, by whom they were ſhot with arrows or precipitated from rocks. A feeble remnant eſcaped to their ſhips, but periſhed ſoon afterwards in an inſurrection which

[77] Demoſthen. de falſa Legatione.

CHAP. XXXV.

they had excited, or fomented, in the iſle of Sicily. The deſtruction of this numerous body of men is aſcribed by ancient hiſtorians [75] to the divine vengeance which purſued their ſacrilege and impiety. It is aſtoniſhing that thoſe ſuperſtitious writers did not reflect on the ſwifter and more terrible deſtruction that overtook the whole Phocian nation, by whom the wickedneſs of Phaleucus and his followers had been ſo recently condemned; and by whom, had not power been wanting, it would have been puniſhed with an exemplary rigour.

Cruel decree of the Amphictyons againſt Phocis;

Philip having paſſed the ſtraits of Thermopylæ, was received by the Phocians as their deliverer. He had promiſed to plead their cauſe before the Amphictyonic council, to the deciſions of which that credulous people conſented to ſubmit, well knowing that a prince who entered Greece at the head of a numerous army might eaſily controul the reſolutions of the Amphictyons, and fondly believing that prince to be their friend. The deputies of Athens had not yet arrived; thoſe of the ſouthern republics had not even been ſummoned. The Locrians, Thebans, and Theſſalians, alone compoſed the aſſembly that was to decide the fate of Phocis; a country which they had perſecuted with relentleſs hoſtility in a war of ten years. The ſentence was ſuch as might be expected from the cruel reſentment of the judges. It was decreed that the Phocians ſhould be excluded from the general confederacy of Greece, and for ever deprived of the right to ſend repreſentatives to the

[75] Diodorus, l. xvi. c. xx. gives this as the general opinion.

council

council of Amphictyons: that their arms and horſes ſhould be ſold for the benefit of Apollo; that they ſhould be allowed to keep poſſeſſion of their lands, but compelled to pay annually from their produce the value of ſixty thouſand talents, till they had completely indemnified the temple; that their cities ſhould be diſmantled, and reduced to diſtinct villages, containing no more than ſixty houſes each, at the diſtance of a furlong from each other; and that the Corinthians, who had recently given them ſome aſſiſtance, ſhould therefore be deprived of the preſidency at the Pythian games; which important prerogative, together with the ſuperintendence of the temple of Delphi, as well as the right of ſuffrage in the Amphictyonic council, loſt by the Phocians, ſhould thenceforth be transferred to the King of Macedon. It was decreed that the Amphictyons, having made effectual theſe regulations, ſhould next proceed to procure all due repairs and expiations to the temple, and ſhould exert their wiſdom and their power to eſtabliſh, on a ſolid foundation, the tranquillity and happineſs of Greece [79]. CHAP. XXXV.

This extraordinary decree, when communicated to the Phocians, filled that miſerable people with ſuch terror and diſmay, as rendered them totally incapable of acting with vigour or with union. They took not any *common* meaſures for repelling the invader; a few cities only, more daring than the reſt, endeavoured, with unequal ſtrength, to defend their walls, their temples, and the revered

which is cruelly executed by the Macedonians. Olymp. cviii. 2. A C. 347.

[79] Diodor. l.xvi. c.lix. & ſeqq.

tombs

CHAP. XXXV.

tombs of their anceſtors. Their feeble reſiſtance was ſoon overcome; all oppoſition ceaſed, and the Macedonians proceeded to execute the will of the Amphictyonic council with inflexible cruelty, and with ſuch undiſturbed order and ſilence as ſeemed more dreadful than the tumultuary ravages of the fierceſt war. Without dropping a tear, or heaving a ſigh, ſince the ſmalleſt mark of regret was conſtrued into an obſtinacy of guilt, the wretched Phocians beheld the deſtruction of their ancient monuments and trophies, their proud walls levelled with the ground, the fertile banks of the divine Cephiſſus covered with ruin and deſolation, and the venerable cities of Daulis, Penopeus, Lilæa, and Hyampolis, which had flouriſhed above nine centuries in ſplendour and proſperity, and which will ever flouriſh in the ſong of Homer, ſo totally burned or demoliſhed as ſcarcely to leave a veſtige of their exiſtence [90]. After this terrible havoc of whatever they poſſeſſed moſt valuable and reſpected, the inhabitants were driven like herds of cattle to the ſettlements allotted for them, and compelled to cultivate their paternal fields for the benefit of mercileſs and unthankful maſters. At the diſtance of three years, travellers, who paſſed through Phocis to viſit the temple of Delphi, melted with compaſſion, or ſhuddered with horror, at the ſight of ſuch piteous and unexampled devaſtation. They turned their reluctant eyes from the ſhattered ruins of a country and a people once ſo illuſtrious; the youth, and men of full age,

[90] Pauſanias in Phocic. & Diodorus, l. xvi. c. lix. & ſeqq.

had

CHAP. XXXV.

had either perished in the war, or been dragged into captivity; the populous cities were no more; and the villages were thinly inhabited by women, children and wretched old men, whose silent but emphatic expressions of deep-rooted misery exceeded all power of words to describe [81].

The news of these events produce consternation in Athens.

The unexpected news of these melancholy events reached Athens in five days. The people were then assembled in the Piræus to examine the state of their harbours and shipping. The dreadful intelligence filled them with consternation. They imagined that they already beheld the destructive armies of Macedon and Thessaly, excited by the inveterate hostility of Thebes, pouring in upon their northern frontier, and overwhelming the whole country with havoc and desolation. A decree immediately passed, at the motion of Callisthenes, which marked the utmost danger and dismay. It was resolved, "that the Athenians, who usually resided in the country, should be summoned to the defence of the city; that those, within the distance of twelve miles round, should, along with their persons, transport their most valuable effects into the city or the Piræus; that those, at a greater distance, should respectively convey themselves and their property to the nearest fortresses, particularly Eleusis, Phylé, Aphidna, Sunium, the principal places of strength in the Attic territory [82]."

Philip writes the Athenians.

This decree shews, that terror was the first movement of the Athenians; but vengeance was

[81] Demosthen. & Æschin. de falsa Legat. & de Coran.
[82] Demosthen. de falsa Legat. sect 20.

the

CHAP. XXXV.

the ſecond. Reluctantly cooped up within their walls they called aloud for arms: levies were prepared for the relief of Phocis; and their admiral Proxenus, who had lately returned from the neighbouring coaſt, was ordered again to direct his courſe towards that country. The King of Macedon was duly attentive to thoſe tranſactions, of which he had been regularly informed by his emiſſaries. He therefore wrote a letter to the Athenians, in that ſtyle of ſuperiority which the ſucceſs of his policy and of his arms juſtly entitled him to aſſume. After acquainting them with his treatment of the Phocians, he mentions his being informed of their preparations for ſupporting that impious people, who were not included in the treaty of peace recently ſigned and ratified between Athens and Macedon. He exhorts them to lay aſide this unwarrantable deſign, which could have no other effect than to ſhew the iniquity and extravagance of their conduct, in arming againſt a Prince, with whom they had ſo lately concluded an alliance. "But if you perſiſt, know that we are prepared for repelling your hoſtilities with vigour."

in a ſtyle very different from what he had formerly uſed.

This mortifying letter was received at the ſame time that the Athenian ambaſſadors returned from Eubœa, and brought ſuch accounts of the deſtruction of the Phocians, that it appeared ſcarcely poſſible to afford them any relief. All that remained, was to ſave, from the cruel vengeance of their enemies, the miſerable wreck of that unfortu-

The Athenians paſs a decree for receiving the fugitive Phocians.

nate

CHAP. XXXV.

nate community. The Athenians paſſed a decree for receiving the fugitives with kindneſs, and for providing them with ſettlements in Attica, or in the foreign dependencies of the republic; a reſolution which, though it was founded on the moſt evident duties of gratitude and humanity towards ancient and faithful allies, gave great offence to the inexorable wrath of the Theſſalians and Thebans [83].

Philip protects the Phocians againſt the inhuman vengeance of their Grecian foes;

Amidſt theſe tranſactions, the Macedonian partiſans, and eſpecially Æſchines and Philocrates, whoſe vain aſſurances had been attended with ſuch fatal effects, had juſt cauſe to dread the reſentment of their country. The former, who had been the principal agent in this diſgraceful ſcene of intrigue and deluſion, no longer affected ſickneſs; he forgot the threatenings denounced against him by Thebes; he diſregarded the Athenian decree, prohibiting any citizen to ſtir from the walls; and having waited for, and beheld the deſtruction of the Phocians with as much indifference, if we may believe his adverſary, as he would have ſeen the concluſion of any ordinary affair, which concerned merely his pecuniary intereſt, he repaired to Philip to receive the wages of his iniquity. Æſchines accounts for his journey at this time by a more honourable but leſs probable cauſe, the deſire of ſaving the feeble and unhappy remnant of the Phocian nation, who were perſecuted to extremity by

[83] Demoſthen. & Æſchin. de falſa Legat. ſect. 20.

the

CHAP. XXXV.

the barbarous vengeance of their Grecian foes, and protected, at the interceſſion of the Athenian orator, by the clemency or compaſſion of the Macedonians. There is reaſon to believe that Æſchines, in order to gain merit with his countrymen, whoſe reſentment he had ſo highly provoked, oppoſed an inhuman reſolution of precipitating from rocks all thoſe of the Phocians who had attained the age of puberty. But the King of Macedon, whoſe character was not naturally flagitious, or cruel without neceſſity, muſt, of his own accord, have been inclined to avert ſuch an atrocious and bloody ſentence, which would have ruined his fame, without promoting his intereſt.

and the Bœotians againſt the cruelty of Thebes.

This concluſion appears the more probable, ſince, we are aſſured, that, upon the ſame principle, but with far leſs ſucceſs, he aſſumed the protection of the oppreſſed Bœotians. Orchomenus, Coronæa, Hyampolis, with other cities of leſs note in Bœotia, were, in conſequence of the ruin of their Phocian allies, again ſubjected to the dominion of Thebes; a republic, always haughty and unrelenting, whoſe magiſtrates on this occaſion prepared to treat the rebels with more than uſual ſeverity. Philip eſpouſed the cauſe of the injured with a generous ardour, extremely diſagreeable to the Thebans. His humanity, whether real or affected, was loudly extolled by his partiſans in moſt republics of Greece. It redounded, however, more to his own glory, than to the benefit of the afflicted Bœotians; who, being expelled from their

own

own country by the intolerable oppreſſion of Theban tyranny, ſought refuge in the compaſſionate boſom of Athens[84].

CHAP. XXXV.

Having finiſhed the ſacred war in a manner ſo favourable to his own intereſt and ambition, Philip convened the members of the Amphictyonic council, to the number of two hundred, and aſſiſted in the hymns, prayers, and ſacrifices, offered to Apollo, in acknowledgement of his divine protection of their councils and arms. The name of the pious King of Macedon, who had been the principal inſtrument of their ſucceſs, reſounded in the ſacred Pœans ſung in honour of the God. The Amphictyons ratified all the tranſactions of that prince, erected his ſtatue in th temple of Delphi, and acknowledged, by a ſolemn decree, the kingdom of Macedon as the principal member of the Hellenic body[85]. Philip at the ſame time appointed deputies to preſide at the Pythian games, the celebration of which was nearly approaching, and to which moſt of the Grecian ſtates had already ſent their repreſentatives. The Athenians, ſtung with indignation and regret, abſtained from this feſtival An embaſſy was therefore diſpatched to them in the name of the Amphictyons, requiring their concurrence with meaſures recently embraced by the general council of Greece; and remonſtrating againſt their diſpleaſure at the aggrandiſement of a prince with whom they had ſo lately contracted an alliance.

Macedon declared by the Amphictyons a member of the Hellenic body. Olymp. cvii. 3. A. C. 346.

[84] Demoſthen. & Æſchin. de falſa Legat. ſect. 20.
[85] Diodor. l. xvi. p. 60.

The

CHAP. XXXV.

Even the Athenians admit this pretenſion.

The deliberations of the Athenian aſſembly, on this occaſion, ſhewed the full extent of their own folly, and evinced the conſummate policy of Philip. They acknowledged, with dejection and anguiſh, that they had neglected the many opportunities preſented them by the favour of Heaven, for repreſſing the ambition of their rival: that the time of acting with vigour and boldneſs was now no more; that the cauſe of Greece was an empty name, ſince the Greeks ſurrendered their dignity to the King of Macedon; and that it became their own republic to conſult rather its ſafety than its honour, and to maintain peace with a monarch againſt whom they were by no means prepared to wage war. Even Demoſthenes [86] recommended this reſolution; leſt, ſays he, we ſhould offend thoſe now aſſembled, who call themſelves the Amphictyons, and thus excite a general war againſt ourſelves. The Thebans, beſide ancient cauſes of quarrel with us, are incenſed at our harbouring their exiles; the Locrians and Theſſalians reſent our protecting the Phocians; the Argives, the Meſſenians and Megalopolitans, are diſpleaſed at our concurring with the views of Lacedæmon. If we refuſe the demands of Philip and the Amphictyons, they may aſſault us with the combined arms of all thoſe ſtates, which we are totally unable to reſiſt. One point, therefore, is neceſſary, the continuance of the preſent peace; not that it is ſo very excellent, or ſo worthy of you; but, of what kind ſoever it may be, it were more for the intereſt of

[86] Demoſthen. de Pace.

your

CHAP. XXXV.

your affairs, that it never had been concluded, than that now, when it is concluded, you ſhould infringe it. This opinion was univerſally approved: Macedon was acknowledged a member of the Grecian confederacy; and Iſocrates, an Athenian of the higheſt merit and reputation, addreſſed a diſcourſe to Philip, in which he exhorted him to diſdain inglorious victories over his countrymen and friends, to employ his authority to extinguiſh for ever the animoſities of Greece, and to direct the united efforts of that country, of which Macedon now formed a part, againſt the wealth and effeminacy of Perſia, its ancient and natural enemy [87].

Whether theſe exhortations proceeded from the virtuous ſimplicity which did not ſuſpect, or from the inſinuating and artful policy which, though it ſuſpected, hoped to avert, the hoſtile projects [88] of Macedon, the meaſures of Philip were, doubtleſs, taken with too much care, and his plans founded too deep and firm, to be ſhaken by the ſpecious eloquence of a rhetorician. He had long meditated the invaſion of Aſia: the conqueſt of the Perſian empire was an object that might well tempt his ambition; but neither his own paſſions, nor the arguments of other men, could haſten, retard, or vary his undeviating progreſs in a ſyſtem which could only be completed by conſolidating his ancient, before he attempted new conqueſts.

[87] Iſocrat. Orat. Philipp.

[88] See the life of Iſocrates, preſixed to my tranſlation of his works.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Foundation of Philippopolis and Cabyla. — Philip's Expedition to Illyria. — Alexander receives the Perſian Ambaſſadors. — Affairs of Greece. — Demoſthenes unmaſks the Deſigns of Philip's Expeditions to the Peloponneſus — to Epirus — to Thracc. — Diopeithes oppoſes him with Vigour. — The Athenians recover Eubœa. — Siege of Perinthus. — Philip's Letter to the Athenians. — Expeditions of Chares — of Phocion — who retrieves the Athenian Affairs in Thrace. — Philip's Scythian Expedition. — The Incendiary Antiphon. — Philip's Intrigues embroil the Affairs of Greece. — The third Sacred War. — Philip General of the Amphictyons. — Confederacy againſt that Prince. — He ſeizes Elatæa. — Battle of Chæronæa. — His Moderation in Victory. — Demoſthenes's Oration in Honour of the Slain.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Philip evacuates Greece, Olymp. cviii. 4.

FROM his intrigues, Philip had derived more important advantages, than he could have gained by a long ſeries of victories. The conqueſt of Greece was his object; he had taken many preliminary meaſures towards effecting this purpoſe; while his conduct, ſo far from exciting the jealouſy of thoſe fierce republics, acquired their admiration and gratitude. Inſtead of rouſing the dangerous reſentment of ſtates which he was ambitious to

ſubdue.

CHAP. XXXVI.

ſubdue, Philip diſarmed the hoſtility of Athens, and threatened with the vengeance of combined Greece, the only republic that appeared forward to obſtruct his deſigns. It ſeemed high time, therefore, to withdraw his army; to ſet bounds, for the preſent, to his own triumphs; nor to attempt, with danger, effecting by premature force, what might be ſafely accompliſhed by ſeaſonable policy. Before evacuating Greece, he took care to place a ſtrong garriſon in Nicæa, which might thenceforth ſecure his free paſſage through the ſtraits of Thermopylæ. Macedonian troops occupied the principal cities of Theſſaly, and the ſtrongeſt poſts of Phocis. He conducted with him into Macedon eleven thouſand Phocian captives; an acquiſition which he regarded as not the leaſt valuable fruits of his ſucceſs; and of which, on his return home, he determined immediately to avail himſelf.

The warlike tribes of Thrace, though often vanquiſhed, had never been thoroughly ſubdued. In order to bridle the dangerous fury of thoſe northern barbarians, Philip built two cities, Philippopolis and Cabyla [1], the firſt at the weſtern extremity of the country, on the confines of mount Rhodopé, the ſecond towards the eaſt, at the foot of mount Hæmus, about an hundred and fifty miles diſtant from each other, and almoſt equally remote from the Macedonian capital. The Phocian captives, blended with a due proportion of

founds Philippolis and Cabyla;

[1] Strabo, l. vii. p. 318.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Macedonian ſubjects, well provided with arms for their defence, were ſent to people and cultivate thoſe new ſettlements, whoſe flouriſhing conditions ſoon exceeded the expectation of their founder. At the ſame time, Philip planted a colony in the iſle of Thaſos, which had formerly belonged to the Athenians; but that people having already loſt poſſeſſion of the gold mines at Philippi, on the neighbouring coaſt of Thrace, ſeemed now ſo indifferent about the poſſeſſion of Thaſos, that their tranſports were employed in conveying the Macedonians thither [2].

plants a colony in the iſle of Thaſos.

In ſuch occupations, chiefly, Philip employed the firſt year of the peace, not neglecting to complete the ornaments of his capital; for which purpoſe he borrowed, as formerly, large ſums of money from the richeſt citizens of Greece. The year following, he made an expedition into Illyria, and, at the expence of that country, extended his dominions from the lake Lychnidus to the Ionian ſea. This diſtrict, about ſixty miles in breadth, was barbarous and uncultivated, but contained valuable ſalt-mines, which had occaſioned a bloody war between two neighbouring tribes. While Philip was abſent in Illyria, an embaſſy arrived from Ochus, King of Perſia, who, alarmed by the magnificent reports of the growing greatneſs of Macedon, ſent the moſt truſty of his miniſters, that, under pretence of offering to Philip the friendſhip and alliance of the Great King, they might examine

His expedition to Illyria. Olymp. cix. 1. A. C. 344.

[2] Demoſth. de Haloneſo.

with

with their own eyes the ſtrength and reſources of a monarch, which were repreſented as ſo formidable. CHAP. XXXVI.

during which his ſon Alexander receives the Perſian ambaſſadors.

In the abſence of his father, the young Alexander did the honours of the court; and it is ſaid, that, during an entertainment given to the Perſian ambaſſadors, the prince, who had not yet reached his twelfth year, diſcovered ſuch manly and premature wiſdom, as already announced the dawn of a very extraordinary character [3]. Among other queſtions, that could not have been expected from his age, he inquired into the nature of the Perſian government, and art of war; the genius and diſpoſition of the reigning ſovereign; the diſtance of his capital from the coaſt, and the difficulty of the intervening roads [4]. Such inquiries, whatever talents they announced in the young prince, ſeem to prove that the conqueſt of Perſia had been a frequent ſubject of converſation between Alexander and his inſtructors; and that an unbounded ambition had already taken poſſeſſion of his youthful mind. The ambaſſadors heard him with aſtoniſhment, and exclaimed with that freedom which ſo

[3] Plutarch (in Alexand.), expreſſes himſelf ſtrongly on this ſubject: "ὡστε εκπλης (the ambaſſadors) θαυμαζειν, και την λεγομενην Φιλιππου δεινοτητα μηδεν ηγεισθαι προς την του παιδος ὁρμην και μεγαλοπραγμοσυνην"—Read μεγαλοψυχιαν, and then the ſentence may be literally explained: "So the ambaſſadors wondered, and thought nothing of the famed abilities of Philip, compared with the ſpirit and magnanimity of his ſon." I recollect not having met with μεγαλοπραγμοσυνη in the writers of the Socratic age; but it is a good word to mark the character of a perſon "who buſies himſelf about great objects."

[4] Plut. in Alexand.

CHAP. XXXVI.

wonderfully distinguishes the public transactions of ancient, from those of modern times, "Ours is a rich and powerful, but this will be truly a wise and great King [5]."

Philip's transactions in Thessaly, Eubœa, and Megara. Olymp. cix. 1. A. C. 344.

Philip had no sooner returned from Illyria, than he made an excursion to Thessaly, and finally settled the affairs of that distracted country; having taken on himself the whole management of the revenue, and having divided the territory into four separate governments, in order to weaken the force of opposition, and to render the whole province more patient and submissive under the dominion of Macedon [6]. While Philip was thus employed in Thessaly, his agents were not less active in confirming the Macedonian authority in the isle of Eubœa. Nor was he satisfied with securing his former acquisitions; he aspired at new conquests. The barren and rocky territory of Megara divided, by an extent of only ten miles, the frontier of Bœotia from the isthmus of Corinth. The industrious and frugal simplicity of this little republic could not defend its virtue against the corrupt influence of the Macedonian [7]. Philip gained a party at Megara, which he cultivated with peculiar care; because, being already master of

[5] I have used a little freedom with the words of Plutarch, ὡς ὁ παις ὑτος βασιλευς μεγας· ὁ δε ἡμετερος πλουσιος. Plut. Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand.

[6] Demosth. Philipp. iii.

[7] Demosth. de falsa Legatione, & Philipp. iii. In Philipp. iv. he speaks as if Philip had made some open attempt against Megara, in which he had failed: ταυτης (scil. Ευβοιας) ολιγωρουμενης, Μεγαρα ἑκλω παραμικρον, p. 54.

Bœotia,

CHAP. XXXVI.

Bœotia, Phocis, and Theſſaly, the narrow territory of the Megarians formed the chief obſtacle to his free paſſage into the Peloponneſus, the affairs of which, at this juncture, particularly attracted his regard.

Philip prepares to protect the inferior communities of the Peloponneſus againſt the oppreſſions of Sparta.

The Lacedæmonians, repulſed by Philip, whom they had condeſcended to ſolicit, rejected by the Phocians, whom they offered to aſſiſt, and having loſt all hopes of obtaining the guardianſhip of the Delphic temple, totally deſerted a ſcene of action, in which they could expect neither profit nor honour, and confined their politics and their arms within the narrow circle of their own peninſula. For almoſt two years, Archidamus had laboured with undivided attention, and with his uſual addreſs and activity, to extend the pretenſions and the power of Sparta over the territories of Meſſené, Argos, and Arcadia. His meaſures, planned with prudence, and conducted with vigour, were attended with ſucceſs, though the inhabitants of the dependent provinces bore with much regret and indignation the yoke of a republic which they had formerly ſpurned as oppreſſive and intolerable. Their murmurs and diſcontents were inflamed into hoſtility by the Thebans, eternal enemies to Sparta, and at that time cloſely allied with the King of Macedon. To this monarch the Thebans applied, requeſting him not to permit the deſtruction of their confederates in the Peloponneſus. The intrigues and money of Philip had already gained him a conſiderable influence in that country,

CHAP. XXXVI.

which he was glad of an opportunity to augment. To juſtify his proceedings for this purpoſe, he procured a decree of the Amphictyonic council, requiring him to check the inſolence of Sparta, and to protect the defenceleſs communities which had ſo often been the victims of her tyranny and cruelty. Encouraged by this reſolution of the Amphictyons, and impelled by his own ambition, Philip ſent troops and money into the Peloponneſus, and prepared to march thither in perſon, at the head of a powerful army [8].

The Corinthians prepare to interrupt his march.

Theſe tranſactions excited new commotions and alarms throughout moſt countries of Greece. The Corinthians [9], jealous of the power of a prince, who, at the cloſe of the Phocian war, deprived them of their ancient prerogatives and honours, and who, ſtill more recently, had taken poſſeſſion of Leucas, a city in Acarnania, and of Ambracia in Epirus, both colonies of Corinth, determined to oppoſe his paſſage into the Peloponneſus. Weapons and defenſive armour were provided, the walls and fortifications were repaired, mercenary troops were levied, the citizens exerciſed in arms, the whole republic glowed with the ardour of military preparation; inſomuch that Diogenes the Cynic, who loſt no opportunity to deride the follies of his contemporaries, beholding with juſt contempt the hurry and vain buſtle of the effeminate Corinthians, that ſeemed ſo ill calculated to contend with the active vigour of Philip, began to

[8] Demoſth. de Pace.

[9] Lucian de Conſcribend. Hiſtor.

roll

roll about his tub [10], leſt he ſhould be the only perſon unemployed in ſo buſy a city. CHAP. XXXVI.

The Lacedæmonians, meanwhile, not leſs alarmed, but always better prepared for war, ſolicited the aſſiſtance of Athens. The latter ſtate had received a conſiderable acceſſion of ſtrength, as well as of juſt honour and reſpect, from its hoſpitable reception of the diſtreſſed exiles from Phocis and Bœotia. It derived new conſideration and luſtre from the general congreſs of ambaſſadors from Sparta, Thebes, Macedon, Argos, Meſſené, and Arcadia, who, after a long interval of time, again condeſcended to aſſert their reſpective claims before the Athenian aſſembly. The Lacedæmonians repreſented the league, formed againſt themſelves, as alike dangerous to Athens and to Sparta; that the ambition of Philip would not reſt ſatisfied with a partial conqueſt; his imagination already graſped the dominion of Greece; and now was the only time for the two leading republics, who had ever mutually aſſiſted each other in ſeaſons of calamity, to make a firm ſtand, and to exert their utmoſt vigour in defence of their own and the public ſafety, ſo ſhamefully abandoned by the Thebans, and by the mob of Peloponneſus [11]. The Thebans joined with the miniſters of Philip in exhorting the Athenians to adhere ſtrictly to Negociations in Athens.

[10] Auct. apud Brucker. in Vit. Diogen. He has collected all that is written for and againſt the tub of Diogenes. Were authors leſs explicit, the moveable habitation of this philoſopher would be ſufficiently atteſted by ancient monuments. See Winckelman, d'Hancarville, &c.

[11] Οχλος Πελοποννησου. Iſocrat. in Archidam.

their

CHAP. XXXVI.

their treaty of peace recently concluded with that prince; they endeavoured, by art and ſophiſtry, to varniſh or to palliate ſuch deeds of fraud or violence as could not be altogether denied; and laboured with the utmoſt aſſiduity to ſeparate the views and intereſts of Athens and Lacedæmon on this important emergency. The ambaſſadors of the inferior ſtates of Peloponneſus loudly complained, that the Athenians, who affected to be the patrons of liberty, ſhould favour the views of Sparta, which had ſo long been the ſcourge of Greece. They repreſented this conduct as not only unjuſt and cruel, but contradictory and abſurd; and uſed many plauſible arguments to deter the people of Athens, who ſtill ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the freedom of Bœotia, from taking ſuch a part in the preſent quarrel as might tend to rivet the chains of Peloponneſus.

Artful repreſentations of the Macedonian partiſans in Athens.

The Athenian orators, many of them creatures of Philip, charged their countrymen not to break haſtily with a prince with whom they had ſo recently concluded an alliance, nor imprudently renew a bloody and deſtructive war, out of which they had been lately extricated with ſo much difficulty. They obſerved, that although the meaſures of Philip, ſince the concluſion of the peace, had indeed been more agreeable to the Thebans than to the Athenians, he had conſidered himſelf as bound in juſtice to chaſtiſe the ſacrilege of the Phocians. Nor was he altogether at liberty to follow his own inclinations; ſurrounded by the Theſſalian cavalry and the Theban infantry, he

was

CHAP. XXXVI.

was compelled to treat the enemies of thoſe ſtates with a ſeverity which his own feelings diſapproved. But the time had arrived, when he might act with more independence and dignity; and that, could any credit be given to report, he was already preparing to rebuild the ruined cities of Phocis, and to fortify Elatæa, on the frontier of that territory, by which means he might thenceforth reſtrain and bridle the inſolent cruelty of Thebes. Theſe obſervations, however improbable, received great force from the peaceful, or rather indolent diſpoſition of the people, who, though they heard with pleaſure thoſe who magnified their ancient grandeur, and inveighed againſt the injuſtice and ambition of Philip, were averſe to employ either their money, or their perſonal ſervice, in ſuch active meaſures as could alone ſet bounds to the Macedonian encroachments.

Anſwered by Demoſthenes.

Demoſthenes, laſt, aroſe, and pronounced a diſcourſe, which the King of Macedon is ſaid to have read with a mixture of terror and admiration [12]. "When you hear deſcribed, men of Athens! the continual hoſtilities by which Philip violates the peace, I obſerve that you approve the equity and patriotiſm of thoſe who ſupport the rights of the republic: but while nothing is done, on account of which it is worth while to liſten to ſuch ſpeeches, our affairs are brought to ſuch a paſs, that the more clearly we convict Philip of perfidy towards you, and of hoſtile deſigns againſt

[12] Plut. in Vit. Demoſth. in lib. de Dec. Orator.

Greece,

CHAP. XXXVI.

Greece, the more difficult it is to propoſe any ſeaſonable advice. The cauſe of this difficulty is, that the encroachments of ambition muſt be repelled, not by words, but by deeds. If ſpeeches and reaſoning ſufficed, we ſhould long ere now have prevailed over our adverſary. But Philip excels in actions as much as we do in arguments; and both of us obtain the ſuperiority in what forms reſpectively the chief object of our ſtudy and concern; we, in our aſſemblies, Philip in the field.

He explains the meaſures, and points out the dangerous deſigns of Philip.

"Immediately after the peace, the King of Macedon became maſter of Phocis and Thermopylæ, and made ſuch an uſe of theſe acquiſitions as ſuited the intereſt of *Thebes*, not of *Athens*. Upon what principle did he act thus? Becauſe, governed in all his proceedings, not by the love of peace or juſtice, but by an inſatiable luſt of power, he ſaw the impoſſibility of bending the Athenians to his ſelfiſh and tyrannical purpoſes. He knew that the loftineſs of their character would never ſtoop to private conſiderations, but prefer to any advantage that he might offer them, the dictates of juſtice and of honour; and that neither their penetration, nor their dignity, could ever be prevailed on to ſacrifice to a partial and temporary intereſt, the general ſafety of Greece; but that they would fight for each member of the confederacy with the ſame zeal as for their own walls. The Thebans he judged (and he judged aright) to be more aſſailable; he knew their folly and their meanneſs to be ſuch, that provided he heaped benefits on themſelves, they would aſſiſt him to enſlave their neigh-

neighbours. Upon the ſame principle he now cultivates, in preference to yours, the friendſhip of the Meſſenians and Argives; a circumſtance, Athenians! which highly redounds to your honour, ſince Philip thus declares his perſuaſion, that you alone have penetration to diſcern, and virtue to oppoſe his deſigns; that you foreſee the drift of all his negociations and wars, and are determined to be the incorruptible defenders of the common cauſe. Nor is it without good grounds that he entertains ſuch an honourable opinion of you, and the contrary of the Thebans and Argives. When the liberties of Greece were threatened by Perſia, as they now are by Macedon, the Thebans baſely followed the ſtandard of the invaders; the Argives did not oppoſe their arms; while the magnanimous patriots, from whom you are deſcended, ſpurned offers, highly advantageous, made them by Alexander of Macedon, the anceſtor of Philip, who acted as the ambaſſador of Perſia; and, preferring the public intereſt to their own, provoked the devaſtation of their territory, and the deſtruction of their capital, and performed, in defence of Greece, thoſe unrivalled exploits of heroiſm which can never be celebrated with due praiſe. For ſuch reaſons, Philip chooſes for his allies, Thebes, Argos, and Meſſené, rather than Athens and Sparta. The former ſtates poſſeſs not greater reſources in money, fleets, harbours, and armies; they have not more *ſtrength*, but leſs *virtue*. Nor can Philip plead the juſtice of their cauſe; ſince, if Chæronæa and Orchomenus are juſtly ſubject to Thebes, Argos and

CHAP. XXXVI.

CHAP. XXXVI.

and Meſſené are juſtly ſubject to Lacedæmon; nor could it be equitable to enſlave the inferior cities of Bœotia, and at the ſame time to teach thoſe of Peloponneſus to rebel.

"But Philip was compelled to this conduct (for this is the only remaining argument that can be alledged in his defence). 'Surrounded by the Theſſalian cavalry and Theban infantry, he was obliged to aſſiſt allies whom he diſtruſted, and to concur with meaſures which he diſapproved. Hence the ſevere treatment of Phocis, hence the cruel ſervitude of Orchomenus and Chæronæa. The King of Macedon, being now at liberty to conſult the dictates of his own humanity and juſtice, is deſirous to re-eſtabliſh the republic of Phocis; and, in order to bridle the inſolence of Thebes, actually meditates the fortifying of Elateæa.' This, indeed, he meditates, and will meditate long. But he does not *meditate* the deſtruction of Lacedæmon. For this purpoſe he has remitted money, he has ſent his mercenaries, he is prepared, himſelf, to march at the head of a powerful army. His preſent tranſactions ſufficiently explain the motives of his paſt conduct. It is evident that he acts from ſyſtem, and that his principal batteries are erected againſt Athens itſelf. How can it be otherwiſe? He is ambitious to rule Greece; you alone are able to thwart his meaſures. He has long treated you unworthily; and he is conſcious of his injuſtice. He is actually contriving your deſtruction, and he is ſenſible that you ſee through his deſigns. For all theſe reaſons he knows that you deteſt him, and that, ſhould he

not anticipate your hoſtility, he muſt fall a victim to your juſt vengeance. Hence he is ever active and alert, watching a favourable moment of aſſault, and practiſing on the ſtupidity and ſelfiſhneſs of the Thebans and Peloponneſians; for if they were not ſtupid and blind, they might perceive the fatal aim of the Macedonian policy. I once ſpoke [13] on this ſubject before the Meſſenians and Argives; my diſcourſe, which was then uſeleſs, may now be repeated moſt ſeaſonably. "Men of Argos and Meſſené! you remember the time when Philip careſſed the Olynthians, as he now does you: how highly, do you think, that infatuated people would have been offended, had any man talked againſt the benefactor, who had generouſly beſtowed on them Anthemus and Potidæa? Had any man warned them againſt the dangerous artifices of Philip, would they have have liſtened to his advice? Yet, after enjoying for a moment the territory of their neighbours, they were for ever deſpoiled of their own. Inglorious was their fall; not conquered only, but betrayed and ſold by each other. Turn your eyes to the Theſſalians. When Philip expelled their tyrants, could the Theſſalians ever conjecture that the ſame prince would ſubject them to the creatures of Macedon, ſtill more tyrannical and oppreſſive? When he reſtored them to their ſeat and ſuffrage in the Amphictyonic council, could they have been perſuaded that he would one day deprive them of the management of their own revenues?

[13] During his embaſſy to Peloponneſus, mentioned above.

As

CHAP. XXXVI.

As to you, Meſſenians and Argives! you have beheld Philip ſmiling and deceiving; but beware! pray to Heaven, that you may never behold him inſulting, threatening, and deſtroying. Various are the contrivances which communities have diſcovered for their defence; walls, ramparts, battlements, all of which are raiſed by the labour of man, and ſupported by continual expence and toil. But there is one common bulwark, which only the prudent employ, though alike uſeful to all, eſpecially to free cities againſt tyrants. What is that? Diſtruſt. Of this be mindful; to this adhere; preſerve this carefully, and no calamity can befal you [14]."

Impeachment of Æſchines and Philocrates.

Demoſthenes then read to the aſſembly the ſchedule of an anſwer, which he adviſed to be given to the ambaſſadors, and which was entirely favourable to the Lacedæmonians. At the ſame time he beſeeched his countrymen to deliberate with firmneſs, yet with temper, on the means by which they might reſiſt the common enemy; "an enemy with whom he had exhorted them to maintain peace, as long as *that* ſeemed poſſible; but peace was no longer in their power; Philip gradually carried on a vaſt ſyſtem of hoſtile ambition, diſmembering their poſſeſſions, debauching their allies, paring their dominions all around, that he might at length attack the centre, unguarded and defenceleſs." Had the orator ſtopped here, his advice might have been followed with ſome uſeful conſequences. But in declaiming againſt the encroachments of Macedon, his reſentment was na-

[14] Demoſthen. Orat ii. in Philipp.

turally

CHAP. XXXVI.

nally inflamed againſt Philocrates, Æſchines, and their aſſociates, whoſe perfidious machinations had produced the public danger and diſgrace. He ſtrongly recommended to the injured people to impeach, condemn, and conſign to due puniſhment thoſe deteſtable traitors. This counſel was not given in vain to the litigious Athenians, who were better pleaſed to attend the courts of juſtice at home, than to march into the Peloponneſus. The city reſounded with the noiſe of trials and accuſations. Philocrates was baniſhed[15], and Æſchines narrowly eſcaped the ſame fate, by expoſing the profligate life of his accuſer Timarchus[16].

Philip ſettles the affairs of the Peloponneſus.

Philip, meanwhile, unoppoſed and unobſerved by his enemies, was ſailing with a powerful armament towards Cape Tenarus, the moſt ſouthern promontory of Laconia. Having landed there without oppoſition, he was joined by the Meſſenians, Arcadians, and Argives. The united army, after ravaging the moſt valuable part of the Lacedæmonian territories, beſieged and took Prinaſus, a maritime city of conſiderable ſtrength and importance. The terror occaſioned among the Spartans by theſe misfortunes, was heightened by extraordinary meteors in the air, whoſe unuſual redneſs ſeemed to preſage ſome dreadful calamity[17]. The alarm was ſo general, that it has been thought worth while to record the ſaying of a Spartan youth, who remained unmoved amidſt the public

[15] Æſchin. in Cteſiphon.
[16] Argum. in Æſchin. Orat. in Timarch.
[17] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. ii. c. xxxvi.

CHAP. XXXVI.

conſternation. Being aſked, "Whether he was not afraid of Philip?" "Why," replied the generous youth, "ſhould I fear him; he cannot hinder me from dying for my country[n]." But this manly reſolution no longer animated the great body of the Spartan nation. Unable to meet the invader in the field, they ſent Agis, the ſon of King Archidamus, to propoſe terms of accommodation, or rather to ſubmit their whole fortune to the diſpoſal of the Macedonians. The young prince coming alone and unattended, Philip expreſſed his ſurpriſe. "What, have the Spartans ſent but one!" "Am I not ſent to one?" was the manly reply of Agis[o]. This was the expiring voice of Spartan pride; for the King of Macedon, though averſe to provoke the deſpair of a people, whoſe ſlumbering virtue might yet be re-animated by the inſtitutions of Lycurgus and the example of Leonidas, compelled them to reſign their pretended authority over Argos, Meſſené, and Arcadia; and ſettled the boundaries of thoſe republics in a manner highly agreeable to the wiſhes of his confederates. Before leaving the Peloponneſus, he ſolemnly renewed his engagements to protect them; and, in return, only required, on their part, that the magiſtracy in Argos ſhould be entruſted to Myrtis, Teledamus, and Mnaſias; in Arcadia, to Cercidas, Hieronymus, and Eucampidas; in Meſſené, to Neon and Thraſyllochus, the ſons of Iphiades; men whoſe names would merit

[n] Frontin. l. iv. c. v. [o] Plut. Apophth.

eternal

eternal oblivion, if Demosthenes justly branded them as traitors [20]; but a more impartial, and not less judicious writer [21], asserts, that by early espousing the interest of Philip, they acquired many important advantages for their respective communities; that their sagacity having foreseen the final prevalence of the Macedonian power and policy over the weakness and folly of Greece, they acted wisely in courting the rising fortune of a prince, who was, at length, enabled to take complete vengeance on his enemies; a vengeance which the Peloponnesians escaped by their own prudence and foresight, and from which the Athenians, after long provoking it, were finally delivered by the love of glory and magnanimity, which regulated the conduct, and adorned the victory, of Philip.

Philip insulted at Corinth.

Having settled the affairs of Peloponnesus, the King of Macedon marched through that country amidst the acclamations of the people, who vied with each other in bestowing crowns and statues, the usual marks of public gratitude and admiration, on a prince who had generously rescued them from the cruel yoke of Sparta. At Corinth, he passed some days in the house of Demaratus, a man totally devoted to his service; and assisted at the games and shewey festivals, which were celebrated in that city, by an immense concourse of people from the neighbouring republics. The turbulent

[20] Παρα γαρ τοις ἑλλησιν, ει τισι, αλλα πασιν ὁμοιως, φοραν προδοτων και δωροδοκων και θεοις εχθρων ανθρωπων, συνεβη γενεσθαι, ὁσην ειδεις πω προτερον μεμνηται γεγονυιαν. These traitors are named in Philipp. iii. & in Orat. de Corona.

[21] Polyb. iii. 72.

 Corin-

CHAP. XXXVI.

Corinthians, who, beſides their innate hatred of kings, had particular cauſes of animoſity againſt Philip, did not conceal their ſentiments; and their inhoſpitable inſolence was abetted by many Peloponneſians, who profited of the liberty of the place, and of the occaſion, to teſtify their rooted averſion to the King of Macedon, and their unwillingneſs to owe their freedom and their ſafety to the interpoſition of a foreign tyrant. Philip was ſtrongly urged by his courtiers to puniſh their ingratitude; but he knew how to digeſt an affront[22], when forgiveneſs was more uſeful than vengeance; and repreſſed the unſeaſonable indignation of his attendants by obſerving, with admirable patience, "Were I to act with *ſeverity*, what muſt I expect from men, who repay even *kindneſs* with inſult[23]?"

his moderation.

Philip extends the boundaries of Epirus, and ſeizes the Halonneſus. Olymp. cix. 1. A. C. 344.

Philip proceeded from Corinth by the neareſt route into Macedon, where he continued the remainder of that year, directing the improvements that were carrying on in his kingdom, and inſpecting with particular care the education of his ſon Alexander, whoſe capacious and fervid mind, like a rich and luxuriant ſoil, producing promiſcuouſly flowers and weeds, ſtrongly required the hand of early culture[24]. But theſe uſeful occupations did not divert his attention from the politics of neighbouring ſtates. He extended the boundaries of Epirus, then governed by his brother-

[22] Longinus has preſerved the expreſſion of Theopompus, "that Philip could eaſily ſwallow affronts."

[23] Plut. in Alexand. [24] Plut. ibid.

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CHAP. XXXVI.

in-law Alexander, the moſt faithful and devoted of his vaſſals, by adding to that little principality the province of Caſſiopæa, which was chiefly inhabited by Elian colonies. At the ſame time he exerciſed his fleet by wreſting Halonneſus, an iſland near the coaſt of Theſſaly, from the hands of corſairs, and kept poſſeſſion of his conqueſt, without paying any regard to the claim of Athens, its ancient and legitimate ſovereign [25].

Settles the commotions in Thrace, and protects the Cardians. Olymp. cix. 2. A. C. 343.

Next year Philip was ſummoned into Upper Thrace by a rebellion of the petty princes in that country, fomented by Amadocus King of the Odryſians. The warlike tribes of that great nation, acting with little concert or union, were ſucceſſively ſubdued; and the dexterity of the King of Macedon ſeconding his uſual good fortune, he ſoon ranked the moſt obſtinate of his enemies in the number of his vaſſals or courtiers [26]. At his return from the inhoſpitable wilds of Thrace, he received into his protection the city and republic of Cardia, occupying the neck of land which joins the Thracian Cherſoneſus to the continent. The reſt of the peninſula had long been ſubject to the Athenians, whoſe authority the citizens of Cardia always ſet at defiance. The Athenians had lately ſtrengthened the Cherſoneſites by a new colony, which had continual diſputes with the Cardians about the extent of their boundaries. Matters had actually come to a criſis, and the Cardians were ready to be overwhelmed by the ſtrength and numbers of the enemy,

[25] Demoſth. Orat. de Halon. [26] Diodor. l. xvi. p. 464.

CHAP. XXXVI.

when they were ſeaſonably defended by the Macedonian arms [27].

These meaſures rouſe the Athenians from their lethargy.

The ſeizing of Halonneſus, the conquering of Grecian colonies for the tyrant of Epirus, above all, the open aſſiſtance given to their inveterate enemies, the Cardians, once more rouſed the Athenians from their lethargy. Theſe freſh inſults brought back to their recollection the ancient grounds of animoſity, and the manifold injuries which they had ſuffered ſince the concluſion of the peace with Macedon. But inſtead of oppoſing Philip with arms, the only means by which he might yet be reſiſted with any hope of ſucceſs, they employed the impotent defence of ſpeeches, reſolutions, and embaſſies. Their complaints were loud and violent in every country of Greece. They called the attention of the whole confederacy to the formidable encroachments of a Barbarian, to which there ſeemed no end; and exhorted the Greeks to unite in repreſſing his inſolent uſurpation [28].

Philip diſpatches Python of Byzantium with a letter to that people.

Philip, who then agitated ſchemes from which he wiſhed not to be diverted by a war with the Athenians, ſent proper agents throughout Greece, to counteract the inflammatory remonſtrances of that people; and diſpatched to Athens itſelf, Python of Byzantium, a man of a daring and vigorous mind; but who concealed, under that paſſionate vehemence of language which ſeems to ariſe

[27] Demoſthen. Orat. de Halon. p. 74. & Plut. in Vit. Eumen.
Demoſthen. de Cherſoneſo, p. 94. & 104.

from

CHAP. XXXVI.

from conviction and ſincerity, a mercenary ſpirit, and a perfidious heart. Python had long ago ſold himſelf, and as far as depended on himſelf, the intereſts of his country, to the King of Macedon, from whom he now conveyed a letter to the ſenate and people of Athens, written with that ſpecious moderation and artful plauſibility, which Philip knew ſo well to aſſume in all his tranſactions. "He offered to make a preſent to the Athenians of the iſland of Halonneſus, and invited them to join with him in purging the ſea of pirates: he intreated them to refer to impartial arbitrators all the differences that had long ſubſiſted between the two ſtates, and to concert amicably together ſuch commercial regulations as would tend greatly to the advantage of both. He denied that they could produce any proof of that duplicity on his part, of which they ſo loudly complained. That for himſelf, he was ready not only to terminate all diſputes with them by a fair arbitration, but to compel the Cardians to abide by the award; and he concluded, by exhorting them to diſtruſt thoſe deſigning and turbulent demagogues, whoſe ſelfiſh ambition longed to embroil the two countries, and involve them in the horrors of war[29]."

Its contents.

The ſubtle artifices of Philip, though ſupported on this occaſion by the impetuous eloquence of Python, were overcome by Hegeſippus and Demoſthenes, who refuted the various articles of the letter with great ſtrength and perſpicuity, and unveiled the injuſtice of Philip with ſuch force of

Diopeithes, the Athenian general in Thrace, acts rigorouſly againſt Philip.

[29] Demoſthen. ſer. Hegeſipp. de Halon. p. 33, & ſeqq.

CHAP. XXXVI.

evidence, that the Athenians reſolved upon ſending a conſiderable armament to the Cherſoneſus, to protect their ſubjects in that peninſula [9]. Diopeithes, who commanded the expedition, was a determined enemy to the Macedonians, and a man of courage and enterpriſe. Before he arrived in the Cherſoneſus, Philip, truſting to the effect of his letter and intrigues, had returned into Upper Thrace. Diopeithes availed himſelf of this opportunity to act with vigour. Having provided for the defence of the Athenian ſettlements in Thrace, he made an incurſion into the neighbouring country; ſtormed the Macedonian ſettlements at Crobyle and Tiriſtaſis; and having carried off many priſoners, and a conſiderable booty, lodged them in the ſafe retreat of the Cherſoneſus. On this emergency, Amphilochus, a Macedonian of rank, was ſent as ambaſſador, to treat of the ranſom of priſoners; but Diopeithes, regardleſs of this character, ever held ſacred in Greece, caſt him in priſon, the more ſurely to widen the breach between Athens and Macedon; and, if poſſible, to render it irreparable. With equal ſeverity he treated a herald, whom he had taken in his late excurſion, charged with letters from Philip; which were ſent to Athens, and read in full aſſembly [10].

The partiſans of Philip cabal to ruin Diopeithes.

The King of Macedon, when informed of theſe hoſtilities and inſults, gave free ſcope to his complaints and threats; and his emiſſaries had an

[9] Demoſthen. ſeu Hegeſipp. de Halon. p. 33. & ſeqq.

[10] Epiſtol. Philipp. & Liban. Argum. in Demoſthen. Orat. de Cherſoneſo.

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easier game at Athens, as Diopeithes had not only violated the peace with Macedon, but, in order to maintain his troops, which were very sparingly supplied by the republic, levied considerable contributions from the Greek settlements in Asia. The partisans of Macedon inveighed against this commander as a robber and pirate, the common enemy of Greeks and Barbarians; Philip's letters demanded vengeance from the justice of Athens; if not, he would be his own avenger: the personal enemies of Diopeithes joined in the outcry, and insisted, that such a daring offender ought immediately to be recalled, and severely punished [32].

CHAP. XXXVI.

He is powerfully defended by Demosthenes.

On this occasion Demosthenes undertook to defend the accused general, whose measures he warmly approved; and motives of private friendship heightening the ardour of patriotism, rank his discourse on the affairs of the Chersonesus among the most animated and interesting of his productions. The impeachment of Diopeithes he ascribes entirely to malice or perfidy, which had been too successfully employed to withdraw the attention of the Athenians from the main object of their concern, the continual encroachments of Philip, to unjust complaints and calumnies against their fellow-citizen. Diopeithes, if really in fault, might be brought home to answer for it whenever they thought proper. A simple mandate from the republic could, at any time, reduce *him* to his duty. But

[32] Demosthen. Orat. de Chersoneso.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Philip, the public enemy, who was continually infringing the peace, who, antecedently to the expedition of Diopeithes, had oppreſſed the Cherſoneſites, had ſtormed Serrium and Doriſcus, how was Philip to be reſtrained, unleſs they repelled force by force? Inſtead of recalling their troops from the Cherſoneſus on the remonſtrance of a crafty tyrant, who would not acknowledge himſelf at war with them, till he aſſaulted the walls of Athens, they ought to exert their utmoſt ability in augmenting the army in that quarter. Should their forces be withdrawn, Philip would wait the approach of winter, or the ſetting in of the Eteſian winds, to fall on the Cherſoneſus. Will it then be ſufficient to accuſe Diopeithes? Or will this ſave our allies? "O, but we will ſail to their relief." But if the winds will not permit you? Even ſhould our enemy attack, not the Cherſoneſus, but Megara or Chalcis, as he lately did Oreum, would it not be better to oppoſe him in Thrace, than to attract the war to the frontiers of Attica? The exactions demanded by Diopeithes from the Aſiatic Greeks are juſtified by the example of all his predeceſſors, who, according to the ſtrength of their reſpective armaments, have always levied proportional contributions from the colonies; and the people who grant this money, whether more or leſs, do not give it for nothing. It is the price for which they are furniſhed with convoys to protect their trading veſſels from rapine and piracy. If Diopeithes employed not that reſource, how could he ſubſiſt his troops, he who receives nothing from you, and who has

nothing

nothing of his own? From the ſkies? No; but from what he can collect, and beg, and borrow. Who does not perceive that this pretended concern for the colonies, in men who have no concern for their country, is one of the many artifices employed to confine and fix you to the city, while the enemy keeps the field, and manages the war at pleaſure? That ſuch traitors ſhould exiſt, is leſs ſurpriſing than that you ſhould patiently receive from them ſuch counſels, as Philip himſelf would dictate. For what elſe could the King of Macedon, who underſtands his own intereſt ſo well, adviſe, but that you ſhould remain quietly at home, decline perſonal ſervice in the war, deny pay to your ſoldiers, revile and inſult your general? When a man; hired to betray you, riſes up in the aſſembly, and declares Chares or Diopeithes to be the cauſe of your calamities, ſuch an hypocrite is heard with ſatisfaction. You deſpiſe the voice of him, who, animated by a ſincere love for his country, calls out, "Be not deceived, Athenians! Philip is the real cauſe of all your misfortunes and diſgrace." The diſagreeable truth renders the man who declares it odious; for the inſidious diſcipline of certain miniſters has ſo changed your principles and characters, that you are become fierce and formidable in your courts of juſtice, but tame and contemptible in the field. You rejoice, therefore, to hear your diſtreſs charged on thoſe whom you can puniſh at home; but are unwilling to believe that it proceeds from a public enemy, whom you

CHAP. XXXVI.

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CHAP. XXXVI.

muſt oppoſe with arms in your hands. Yet, Athenians, if the ſtates of Greece ſhould thus call you to account for your conduct: "Men of Athens, you are continually ſending embaſſies to aſſure us, that Philip is projecting *our* ruin, and *that* of all the Greeks. But O, moſt wretched of mankind! when this common foe was detained ſix months abroad by ſickneſs, the ſeverity of winter, and the armies of his enemies, did you profit by that opportunity to recover your loſt poſſeſſions? Did you reſtore even Eubœa to liberty, and expel thoſe troops and tyrants who had been placed there in ambuſh, and directly oppoſite to Attica? No. You have remained inſenſible to your wrongs, and fully convinced us, that were Philip ten times to die, it would not inſpire you with the leaſt degree of vigour. Why then theſe embaſſies, theſe accuſations, all this unneceſſary ferment!" If the Greeks ſhould aſk this, what could we anſwer? I know not.

"There are men who think to perplex a well-intentioned ſpeaker by aſking, What ought we to do? My anſwer is ſincere, None of thoſe things which you do at preſent. I explain my opinion at greater length, and may you be as ready to receive, as to aſk, advice! Firſt of all, you muſt hold it as a matter of firm belief, that Philip has broken the peace, and is at war with your republic: that he is an enemy to your city, to the ground on which it ſtands, to all thoſe who inhabit it, and not leaſt to ſuch as are now moſt diſtinguiſhed by his favours.

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The fate of Euthycrates and Laſthenes [33], citizens of Olynthus, may teach *our* traitors the deſtruction that awaits them, after they have ſurrendered their country. But, though an enemy to your city, your ſoil, and your people, Philip is chiefly hoſtile to your government, which, though ill fitted to acquire, or to maintain, dominion over others, is admirably adapted to defend both yourſelves and them, to repel uſurpation, and to humble tyrants. To your democracy, therefore, Philip is an unrelenting foe, a truth, of which you ought to be deeply perſuaded; and next, that wherever you repreſs his encroachments, you act for the ſafety of Athens, againſt which, chiefly, all his batteries are erected. For who can be ſo fooliſh as to believe, that the cottages of Thrace (Drongila, Cabyla, and Maſtira), ſhould form an object worthy of his ambition; that, in order to acquire them, he ſhould ſubmit to toils and dangers; that, for the ſake of the rye and millet of Thrace, he ſhould conſent to ſpend ſo many months amidſt winter ſnows and blaſting tempeſts; while, at the ſame time, he diſregarded the riches and ſplendor of Athens; your harbours, arſenals, gallies, mines, and revenues? No, Athenians! It is to get poſſeſſion of Athens, that he makes war in Thrace and elſewhere. What then ought we to do? Tear ourſelves from our indolence; not only ſuſtain, but augment, the troops which are on foot; that, as

CHAP. XXXVI.

[33] See above, c. xxxv.

Philip

CHAP. XXVI.

Philip has an army ever ready to attack and conquer the Greeks, you alſo may be ready to ſuccour and to ſave them [z]."

Demoſthenes ventures not to propoſe the war in form.

It is worthy of obſervation (becauſe nothing betrays more evidently the tyrannical ſpirit of democracy), that Demoſthenes does not propoſe the war in form, by bringing in a written bill or decree, to be approved or rejected by the votes of his countrymen. This decree muſt have been depoſited among the Athenian archives; and, if the war ſhould prove unfortunate, might be produced at ſome future time for the deſtruction of its author, whoſe enemies would not fail to allege this inſtrument as a proof that he had occaſioned the rupture with Philip, and all the calamities conſequent on that r
n that caſe, v
nder the votes
court of juſtice could call him to account for miſleading the people [a], and puniſh him with baniſhment or death. Demoſthenes artfully glances at this diſagreeable ſubject: "Raſh, impudent, and audacious, I neither am, Athenians! nor wiſh ever to become; yet am I actuated by more true fortitude than the boldeſt of your demagogues, who, capriciouſly diſtributing honours and largeſſes on the one hand, and as capriciouſly impeaching, condemning, and confiſcating on the other, have, in either caſe, a ſure pledge of impunity in the flat-

[z] Demoſthen. Orat. de Chersonef. p. 161, & ſeq.

[a] Vide Demoſth. de Coron. paſſim.

tery

CHAP. XXXVI.

tery and artifices by which they have long ſeduced the public. The courage of that miniſter is put to an eaſy trial, who is ever ready to ſacrifice your permanent intereſt to your preſent gratification. But he is truly couragcous, who, for the ſake of your ſafety and glory, oppoſes your moſt favourite inclinations, rouſes you from your dream of pleaſure, diſdains to flatter you, and, having the good of his country ever in view, aſſumes that poſt in the adminiſtration in which fortune often prevails over policy, knowing himſelf reſponſible for the iſſue. Such a miniſter am I, whoſe unpopular counſels are calculated to render, not myſelf, but my country great."

The Athenians oppoſe the common enemy with ſpirit by ſea and land.

Theſe arguments and remonſtrances of Demoſthenes not only ſaved Diopeithes, but animated the Athenians with a degree of vigour[130] which they had been long unaccuſtomed to exert. A fleet was fitted out under the command of Callias, who ſeized all Macedonian ſhips as lawful prize, and made a deſcent on the coaſt of Theſſaly, after plundering the harbours in the Pelaſgic gulph. A conſiderable body of forces was ſent into Acarnania to repel the incurſions of Philip, abetted by his kinſman and ally, Alexander of Epirus. The inhabitants of the iſland of Peperathus, truſting to the protection of Athens, expelled the Macedonian garriſon from Halonneſus. Repeated embaſſies were diſpatched to the Peloponneſians and Eubœans, exhorting them to throw off the ignominious yoke of Macedon, and to unite

with

CHAP. XXXVI.

with their Grecian brethren againſt the public enemy. Philip was not unattentive to theſe commotions, but his deſigns againſt the valuable cities on the Propontis and Thracian Boſporus [37] being ripe for execution, he was unwilling to allow any ſecondary conſideration to divert him from that important enterpriſe.

Philip attempts to get poſſeſſion of Byzantium and Perinthus. Olymp. cix. 3. A. C. 342.

His intrigues and bribery had gained a conſiderable party in Byzantium, at the head of which was the perfidious Python, whoſe vehement eloquence gave him great influence with the multitude. A conſpiracy was formed to ſurrender one of the gates of the city; the Macedonian army of thirty thouſand men hovered round; but the deſign was ſuſpected or diſcovered, and Philip, to ſcreen his partiſans from public vengeance, ſeaſonably withdrew his army, and inveſted the neighbouring city of Perinthus. The news of theſe tranſactions not only increaſed the activity of Athens, but alarmed Ochus King of Perſia, who being no ſtranger to Philip's deſign of invading his dominions, trembled at beholding that ambitious prince gradually approach his frontier. To remove this danger, Ochus adopted the ſame policy, which, in ſimilar circumſtances, had been ſucceſsfully employed by his predeceſſors [38]. The Perſian gold was profuſely ſcattered among the moſt eminent of the Grecian demagogues. Demoſthenes, whoſe patriotiſm was not always proof

[37] Demoſth. de Coron. 2. Diodor. l. xvi. c. lxxii.

[38] Plut. in Alexand.

againſt

against an unworthy alliance [a] with intereſt, rejoiced at being paid for doing what he conſidered as his duty. At Athens his invectives were louder than ever againſt the King of Macedon; and the affairs of Eubœa gave him an opportunity of exerting himſelf with equal zeal in that iſland. CHAP. XXXVI.

The factious ſpirit of the Eubœans rendered them alike incapable of independence, and of remaining quietly under the government either of Athens or Macedon, to which they were alternately ſubject. The recent prevalence of the Macedonian party had been marked by many acts of violence and oppreſſion. The city of Chalcis, Oreum, and Eretria, prepared to rebel, having previouſly ſolicited aſſiſtance from Peloponneſus, Acarnania, Attica and every province of Greece, which they had any reaſon to deem favourable to their views. From other ſtates they brought back promiſes and hopes; from Athens they obtained, chiefly through the influence of Demoſthenes, a conſiderable body of troops commanded by the brave and virtuous Phocion. The orator accompanied the expedition; and being allowed to addreſs the popular aſſemblies in moſt of the cities of Eubœa, he inflamed them with ſuch animoſity againſt Philip and his partiſans, that little remained to be done by the valour of the Athenian general. The Eubœans every where took arms in defence of their freedom, the Macedonian garriſons were expelled from the principal cities, and driven from one poſt to another, till they were forced entirely to The Athenians recover Eubœa.

[a] Plut. in Demoſth.

CHAP. XXXVI.

evacuate the iſland. This event occaſioned great joy at Athens; and the principal merit was aſcribed to Demoſthenes, who, at the motion of Ariſtonicus, a man of merit and eminence, was crowned by the ſenate and people with a golden crown; which honour was publicly proclaimed in the theatre of Bacchus, during the repreſentation of the new tragedies, amidſt an immenſe concourſe of people, citizens and ſtrangers [40].

The merit of Demoſthenes acknowledged on this occaſion.

The loſs of Eubœa was ill compenſated to Philip by the military operations againſt Perinthus, in which he found an enemy worthy of his courage and perſeverance. The town was ſituate on the ſloping ridge of an iſthmus, and ſtrongly fortified both by art and nature, the houſes and ſtreets riſing one above another like the ſeats of an amphitheatre, ſo that the higher edifices overlooked and defended the lower. Having ſcoured the neighbouring country with his cavalry, Philip exhauſted, in the ſiege of Perinthus, all the military ſkill known to the ancients. He raiſed towers forty cubits high, which enabled his men to fight on equal ground with the beſieged; his miners were buſy at the foundation; at length the battering rams advanced to the wall, in which a conſiderable breach was made. During this time, however, the townſmen had not been idle. The ſuperior diſcharge of darts, arrows, and every kind of miſſile weapon, from the Macedonian towers, had indeed diſlodged the Perinthians from

Circumſtances which enabled the Perinthians to make an obſtinate defence. Olymp. cix. 4. A. C. 341.

[40] Demoſth. de Coron. & Plut. in Demoſth.

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CHAP. XXXVI.

thoſe parts of the wall and battlements, againſt which the principal attack had been directed. But with inceſſant toil, the beſieged built a new wall within the former, on which they appeared in battle array, prepared to repel the enemy who entered the breaches[47]. The Macedonians, who advanced with impetuous joy to reap the fruits of their labour, were infinitely mortified to find that their work muſt be begun anew. Philip employed rewards and puniſhments, and all the reſources of his mind, fertile in expedients, to reſtore their hopes and ſo reanimate their activity. The ſiege recommenced with freſh ardour, and the Perinthians were thrice reduced to extremity, when they were unexpectedly ſaved, firſt by a large ſupply of arms and proviſions from Byzantium, next by a ſtrong reinforcement of men in Perſian pay, commanded by Apollodorus, a citizen of Athens; and laſtly, by the advantageous ſituation of the town, which, being built in a conical form, preſenting its apex or narrow point to the beſiegers, gradually roſe and widened towards the remoter parts, from which it was eaſy to obſerve all the motions of the enemy, and, as they approached, to overwhelm them from diſtant batteries. Philip, ever ſparing of the lives of his men, was deterred by this circumſtance from venturing an aſſault, though his machines had effected a breach in the new wall; he therefore determined to change the ſiege into a blockade. Perinthus was ſhut up

[47] Diodor. p. 466, & ſeqq.

CHAP. XXXVI.

as closely as possible by sea and land; part of the Macedonian troops who had become mutinous for want of pay (for Philip at this time owed above two hundred talents, or forty thousand pounds sterling,) were indulged in plundering the rich territory of Byzantium, while the remainder were conducted to the siege of Selymbria, and soon after of Byzantium itself, the taking of which places, it was hoped might compensate their lost labour at Perinthus [42].

The Thracian cities, supported by numerous allies, resist the arms of Philip.

During the military operations against the cities of the Propontis, Demosthenes did not cease exhorting his countrymen to undertake their defence as essential to their own safety. The hostilities and devastations of Philip, he represented as the periodical returns of the pestilence and other contagious disorders, in which all men were alike threatened with their respective shares of calamity. He, who was actually sound and untainted, had an equal interest with the diseased and infirm, to root out the common evil, which if allowed to lurk in any part would speedily pervade and afflict the whole. The Macedonians now besieged Selymbria and Byzantium; if successful in these enterprises, they would soon appear before Sparta, Thebes, and Athens. Yet he knew not by what fatality the Greeks viewed the successive encroachments of Philip, not as events which their vigorous and united opposition might ward off and repel, but as disasters inflicted by the hand of Providence; as a

[42] Diodorus, l. xvi. c. xxii.

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tempestuous cloud of hail so destructive to the vines in autumn, which all beheld, with horror, hovering over them, but none took any other means to prevent, than by deprecating the fatal visitation from his own field[43]. These animated and just representations of the common distress or danger, engaged the Athenians to enter into a close correspondence with the besieged cities[44]. Demosthenes undertook a journey to Byzantium; and Leon, a Byzantine orator and patriot, the friend and fellow-student of the virtuous Phocion, resided as ambassador in Athens. At the same time, the principal cities of the Propontis maintained an uninterrupted intercourse of good offices with each other, as well as with their allies of Rhodes and Chios, from whom they received repeated supplies of arms and provisions.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Philip attacks and defeats Diopeithes, and justifies his conduct to the Athenians,

Philip, meanwhile, ceased not to assure the Athenians, by his letters and emissaries, that he was extremely desirous of maintaining peace with their republic, and gently chid them for their evident marks of partiality towards his enemies, which, however, he took care to ascribe, not to the general temper and disposition of the people,

[43] Αλλα ὁμως ταυτ' ορωντες οἱ ἑλληνες ανεχονται· και τον αυτον τροπον, ονπερ οἱ την χαλαζαν, εμοιγε δοκουσι, θεωρειν· ευχομενοι μη καθ' ἑαυτους εκαστοι γενεσθαι, κωλυειν δε ουδεις επιχειρων. Demosth. in Philip. iii. p. 48. In the country where I now write (the Pais de Vaud) the beauty and force of this comparison is too well understood. Lofty mountains covered with snow, sunny hills and fertile vallies.—Such too is the geography of Greece, which rendered the hail-storms so alarming to vintagers.

[44] Demosthen. de Corona.

CHAP. XXXVI.

but to the prevalence of a dangerous faction, inflamed by seditious and selfish demagogues. By a rapid march he had recently surprised an Athenian detachment ravaging the territory of Cardia. Diopeithes, the Athenian general in the Chersonesus, commanded this predatory band, which, after a slight skirmish, was repelled with the loss of its leader, slain by a dart, while he rallied his men with his voice and arm. Philip failed not, by letter, to excuse this act of hostility, to which he assured the Athenians, that he had been compelled much against his inclination: he affected to consider Diopeithes as the instrument of a malignant faction, headed by Demosthenes, rather than as the acknowledged general of the republic; and, as that commander had acted unwarrantably in plundering the Cardians, a people strictly allied with Macedon, Philip assured himself that the senate and people would not take it amiss that, provoked by repeated injuries, he had resisted wanton aggression, and defended the lives and fortunes of his long-injured confederates.

Philip's admiral seizes an Athenian convoy destined for the relief of Selymbria.

While the Athenians and Philip were on this footing of correspondence, the former sent twenty vessels laden with corn to the relief of the Selymbrians. Leodamas, who commanded this convoy, seems to have imagined that the treaty formerly subsisting between the two powers, would protect him from injury. But in this he was disappointed. His fleet was surrounded and taken by Amyntas, who commanded the naval force of Macedon, and who determined to retain his prize, without paying

CHAP. XXXVI

any regard to the complaints and remonſtrances of Leodamas, who pretended that the convoy was not deſtined for Selymbria, but employed in conveying the ſuperabundance of the fertile Cherſoneſus, to the rocky and barren iſland of Lemnos.

Philip reſtores the captured veſſels, and writes an artful letter to the Athenians. Olymp. cix. 4. A. C. 341.

The news of the capture of their ſhips occaſioned much tumult and uneaſineſs among the Athenians. After frequent deliberations on this ſubject, a decree was framed for ſending ambaſſadors to Philip, in order to re-demand their property, and to require that Amyntas, if he had exceeded his inſtructions, ſhould be puniſhed with due ſeverity. Cephiſophon, Democritus, and Polycrates, who were named for this commiſſion, repaired without delay to Philip in the Helleſpont, who, at their requeſt, immediately releaſed the captured veſſels, and diſmiſſed the Athenians with the following letter; "Philip King of Macedon, to the ſenate and people of Athens, Health. I have received three of your citizens in quality of ambaſſadors, who have conferred with me about the releaſe of certain ſhips, commanded by Leodamas. I cannot but admire their ſimplicity in thinking to perſuade me that theſe ſhips were intended to convey corn from the Cherſoneſus to the iſle of Lemnos, and not deſtined for the relief of the Selymbrians, actually beſieged by me, and nowiſe included in the treaty of pacification between Athens and Macedon. This unjuſt commiſſion Leodamas received, not from the people of Athens, but from certain magiſtrates, and others now in private ſtations, who are too buſy in urging you to violate

CHAP. XXXVI.

your engagements, and to commence hoſtilities againſt me; a matter which they have more at heart than the relief of Selymbria, fondly imagining that they may derive perſonal advantage from ſuch a rupture. Deeply perſuaded that our mutual intereſt requires us to fruſtrate their wicked ſchemes, I have given orders to releaſe the captured veſſels; do you, in return, remove ſuch pernicious counſellors from the adminiſtration of your affairs; and let them feel the ſeverity of your juſtice. On my part, I ſhall endeavour to preſerve and conſolidate the treaty, by which we ſtand mutually engaged [45]."

Demoſthenes perſuades the Athenians to ſuccour the beſieged at Thrace.

The moderate and friendly ſentiments expreſſed in this letter afforded great advantage to the Macedonian partiſans at Athens. But Demoſthenes and Leon of Byzantium, ſpared no pains to detect and expoſe the artifices and duplicity of Philip, who employed this humble and peaceful tone, during his operations againſt the cities of the Propontis, in order to ſtifle the reſentment of the Athenians, at a criſis when they might act againſt him with peculiar advantage. In elaborate and powerful orations [46], in which, without urging any new matter, Demoſthenes condenſed, invigorated, and enlivened his former obſervations and reaſonings, he convinced his countrymen of the expediency of being for once beforehand with their enemy, and of anticipating his deſigns againſt themſelves by a ſpeedy and effectual aſſiſtance to their diſtreſſed

[45] Epiſt. Philip. in Demoſth.
[46] Orat. iv. in Philip. & Orat. de L[illegible]

brethren

brethren of Perinthus, Selymbria, and Byzantium. By his convincing eloquence, the public councils were animated with a degree of energy and enthuſiaſm which had not appeared in them during many years, and which produced the laſt tranſitory glimpſe of ſucceſs and ſplendour, before the glory of Athens was extinguiſhed for ever. CHAP. XXXVI.

It was decreed by the ſenate and people, to fit out a fleet of an hundred and twenty gallies; but unfortunately the command was given to Chares, whoſe character rendered him as contemptible to the enemies, as he was formidable to the allies, of the republic. The Byzantines excluded him from their harbour, and he was defeated by Amyntas, the Macedonian admiral, off the oppoſite ſhore of Chalcedon. This diſaſter, which was chiefly occaſioned by the incapacity of their commander, made the Athenians caſt their eyes on Phocion [47], who, though ever ready to ſerve his country, was moſt frequently called for in times of danger and calamity. Diſhonourable expedition of Chares. Olymp. cx. 1. A. C. 340.

Before Phocion reached the Propontis, Philip, flushed with his naval ſucceſs, made an attempt to ſtorm Byzantium. That city was environed on three ſides by the ſea, and defended on the fourth by a ſtrong wall, and a large and deep trench, crowned with lofty towers, ſeparated at ſmall intervals from each other. Confident in the ſtrength of the place and the abundance of their magazines, the inhabitants of Byzantium, without riſking a ſally, allowed Philip to carry on his works, and gradually Philip fails in his attempt to ſurpriſe Byzantium.

[47] Plutarch. in Phocion.

CHAP. XXXVI.

to make his approaches to their walls. During this inaction of the townſmen, Philip carefully advanced his battering engines, and ſeemed determined to aſſault the walls; but, meanwhile, embraced proper meaſures for gaining the place by ſurpriſe. For executing this deſign, he choſe the gloom of a tempeſtuous night; a determined band of Macedonians paſſed the ditch; the ſcaling-ladders were already fixed; when the centinels of Byzantium were alarmed by the barking of maſtiffs, kept in the towers, even in time of peace, to ſecure them in the night. The alarm ſpread with rapidity among the ſeveral guards, who ruſhing tumultuouſly from their reſpective ſtations, as if the enemy had been already maſters of the town, were on the point of blindly aſſaulting each other, when a bright meteor, or repeated flaſhes of lightning, enabled them to diſtinguiſh their friends and to diſcern the danger. Having formed in ſome degree of order, they advanced againſt the Macedonians, who had already gained the rampart, from which they were with difficulty repulſed by ſuperior numbers [48].

The Athenians, commanded by Phocion ſave the Thracian cities. Olymp. cx 1. A. C. 340.

The defeat of this bold and dangerous enterpriſe did not diſcourage Philip from carrying on his operations with indefatigable diligence and vigour. His perſeverance muſt finally have prevailed over the obſtinacy of the beſieged, had not the Athenian fleet, under Phocion, arrived in the Thracian Boſporus. The Byzantines received

[48] Diodor. l. xvi. p. 468.

him

him with open arms, expecting that under such a commander, their auxiliaries would prove not less modest and inoffensive in their quarters, than active and intrepid in the field. Nor were their hopes disappointed; the arms of Philip were foiled in every rencounter; his artifices were met and eluded by similar address; nor could he expect by force or fraud to gain any advantage over an opponent alike brave and vigilant[a]. The King of Macedon, who had as much flexibility in varying his measures, as firmness in adhering to his purposes, was unwilling any farther to press his bad fortune. In the actual state of his affairs, he judged it necessary to raise the siege of Byzantium, to withdraw his forces from Selymbria and Perinthus, and to leave the Athenians in possession of the northern shore of the Propontis. These were humiliating resolutions; but fortunately for Philip, an event fell out, which prevented the execution of them from reflecting much discredit on his arms or policy. CHAP. XXXVI.

Phocion, to whose conduct the safety of so many important cities was principally owing, sailed from Byzantium amidst the grateful vows and acclamations of innumerable spectators. In his voyage to the Chersonesus, he captured a fleet of victuallers and transports, carrying arms and provisions for the enemy. When he arrived in that peninsula, he repressed the insolence of the Cardians, who, reinforced by a Macedonian garrison, had recently undertaken an expedition against the city of Sestos. He recovered several places on the and ravage the Macedonian territories.

[a] Plut. in Phocion.

coast

CHAP. XXXVI.

coaſt of Thrace, which had reluctantly ſubmitted to the dominion of the Macedonians; and, in concert with the inhabitants, embraced ſuch meaſures as ſeemed moſt proper to protect the Athenian allies in thoſe parts, from future danger. Inſtead of burdening the confederates with the maintenance of his army, he plentifully ſupplied all the wants of his ſoldiers from the enemy's country. He commanded in perſon the parties that went out to forage and to plunder; and in one of thoſe expeditions, received a dangerous wound, yet did not embark for his return, until he had ſpread the terror of the Athenian name, by ravaging with fire and ſword the hereditary dominions of Philip.

Extraordinary honours conferred on the Athenians and Phocion, by the cities which they had relieved.

The meritorious ſervices of Phocion were deeply felt and acknowledged by the communities whom he had protected and relieved[50]. The deliverance and gratitude of the Cherſoneſus, of Perinthus, and of Byzantium, were teſtified by crowns, ſtatues, inſcriptions, and altars; and are ſtill recorded in an oration of Demoſthenes[51], which moſt juſtly ſurvives thoſe periſhing monuments of gold and marble. The decree of the Byzantines and Perinthians, after deſcribing the ancient and recent benefits conferred on them by Athens, enacted, "that in return for thoſe favours the Athenians ſhould be entitled to the right of intermarriage, the privilege of purchaſing lands in their territories, the freedom of their reſpective

[50] Plut. in Phocion. & Diodor. ubi ſupra.
[51] Demoſthen. de Corona.
[52] Idem, ibid.

cities,

cities, and the firſt and moſt honourable place in all their entertainments and aſſemblies: That whatever Athenians choſe to reſide with them ſhould be exempted from taxes: And that, further, three ſtatues, each ſixteen cubits high, ſhould be erected in the port of Byzantium, repreſenting the republic of Athens, crowned by the Byzantines and Perinthians: That this crown ſhould be proclaimed at the four principal feſtivals of Greece, in order to commemorate the magnanimity of Athens, and the gratitude of the Byzantines and Perinthians." The inhabitants of the Cherſoneſus were not leſs forward in their acknowledgments and rewards. After a ſimilar preamble, ſetting forth the manifold favours of their great and generous allies, they reſolved to crown the ſenate and the people of Athens with a golden crown worth ſixty talents; and to conſecrate an altar to Gratitude and the Athenians. Theſe public and ſolemn honours afforded matter of equal triumph to Phocion, who had executed, and to Demoſthenes, who had adviſed, the meaſures, in conſequence of which ſuch juſt glory had been acquired. At the diſtance of ſeveral years, the orator ſtill boaſted of this important ſervice. "You have frequently, Athenians! rewarded with crowns the ſtateſmen moſt ſucceſsful in conducting your affairs. But name, if you can, any other counſellor, any other ſtateſman, by whoſe means the ſtate itſelf hath been thus honoured[51]."

CHAP. XXXVI.

[51] Demoſth. de Coron.

The

CHAP. XXXVI.

Ateas King of Scythia invites Philip to aſſiſt him againſt the Illyrians.

The circumſtance which enabled Philip to ſhun the violence of the ſtorm with which the hoſtile of Athens, Perſia, and ſo many other powers, had been long preparing to overwhelm him, to have ariſe from an error of judgment, occaſioned by the boundleſs ambition which formed the ruling paſſion of the Macedonian prince. Beyond the confines of Thrace, and beyond the northern frontier of the Lower Mœſia, dwelt a powerful Scythian tribe, in the valuable peninſula contained between the weſtern waves of the Euxine and the majeſtic ſtream of the Danube. The roving and unſettled life of the Scythians, like that of their deſcendants the Tartars, had led them into this country, from their native and proper territories, embracing the ſix mouths of the Danube or Iſter, the banks of the Boriſthenes, and the ſhores of the Palus Mœotis, which diſtricts in ancient times were named Little Scythia [54], and are ſtill called Little Tartary [55]. A monarch leſs warlike and leſs ambitious than Philip, might have obſerved, with indignation and regret, thoſe fierce and rapacious Barbarians, extending themſelves beyond their natural limits, and enjoying an eſtabliſhment to the ſouth of the Danube; which great river, as he was already maſter of Thrace, and counted the Triballi of Mœſia among the number of his tributaries, Philip's proud and uſurping fancy had already uſurped as the barrier of his empire, and the proper line of ſeparation between barbarous and civilized

[54] Herodotus & Strabo, paſſim. [55] Geograph. de D'Anville.

nations.

CHAP. XXXVI.

nations. It was not, therefore, without ſuch exceſs of joy as tranſported him beyond the bounds of ſound policy, that, amidſt his preparations againſt the cities on the Propontis, he received an invitation from Atheas [56], who ſtyled himſelf King of the Scythians, to march to his aſſiſtance, and to defend his dominions, conſiſting in the peninſula above mentioned, againſt an invaſion of the Iſtrians, which the domeſtic forces of Atheas were totally unable to reſiſt. To this propoſal was added a condition extremely alluring to the King of Macedon, that if his auxiliary arms enabled Atheas to vanquiſh and expel the invaders, Philip ſhould be named heir to the *kingdom* of Scythia; for, according to the faſhion of ancient times, Atheas dignified with the name of kingdom, a territory little larger than the principality of Wales.

Perfidy and inſolence of that Barbarian.

In greedily ſnatching this bait laid for his ambition, Philip was not enough on his guard againſt the uſual perfidy and levity of Barbarians; nor did he ſufficiently conſider, that by ſending a powerful detachment into Scythia, he muſt greatly weaken his exertions againſt the cities of the Propontis. With an ardour and alacrity too rapid for reflection, he eagerly cloſed with the propoſitions of Atheas, ſent a great body of forces to the north, and promiſed to aſſiſt them in perſon at the head of his whole army, ſhould they encounter any difficulty in the execution of their purpoſe. Meanwhile the warlike chief of the Iſtrians, whoſe courage alone animated, and whoſe conduct ren-

[56] Juſtin. l. ix. c. ii.

dered

CHAP. XXXVI.

dered ſucceſsful, the arms of his followers, was cut off by ſudden death: the diſpirited Iſtrians were attacked, defeated, and repelled; and, before any aſſiſtance from Macedon, Atheas once more regained poſſeſſion of his kingdom. This unexpected revolution ſerved to diſplay the crafty and faithleſs Barbarian in his genuine deformity. The Macedonian troops were received coldly, treated with contempt, and abſolutely denied their ſtipulated pay and ſubſiſtence. Their juſt remonſtrances and complaints Atheas heard with ſcorn, and totally diſavowed the propoſitions and promiſes of thoſe who ſtyled themſelves his ambaſſadors; obſerving "how unlikely it was, that he ſhould have ſolicited the aſſiſtance of the Macedonians, who, brave as they were, could fight only with men, while the Sythians could combat cold and famine; and that it would have been ſtill more unnatural to appoint Philip his ſucceſſor, ſince he had a ſon of his own worthy to inherit his crown and dignity [57].

Philip remonſtrates with him in vain

Upon receiving an account of the inſolent behaviour of a prince who had ſo recently ſolicited his alliance, Philip, while ſtill buſily, but unſucceſsfully, employed againſt the cities of the Propontis, ſent an embaſſy to Scythia, requiring Atheas to ſatisfy the juſt demands of the Macedonian troops, and to indemnify himſelf for the expence incurred in his defence. The ambaſſadors found the King of Sythia in his ſtable, currying his horſe. When they teſtified ſurpriſe at

[57] Juſtin. l. ix. c. ii.

ſeeing

CHAP. XXXVI.

ſeeing him engaged in ſuch an occupation, he aſked them, Whether their maſter did not often employ himſelf in the ſame manner? adding, that for his own part, in time of peace, he made not any diſtinction between himſelf and his groom. When they opened their commiſſion and explained the demands of Philip, the ſubtle Barbarian told them, that the poverty of Scythia could not furniſh a preſent becoming the greatneſs of their maſter; and that, therefore, it ſeemed more handſome to offer nothing at all, than ſuch a gift as would be totally unworthy of his acceptance[a].

Philip determines to chaſtiſe his ingratitude and perfidy.

This evaſive and mortifying anſwer being brought to the King of Macedon when foiled and haraſſed, yet not diſheartened, by his unproſperous expedition againſt Byzantium, furniſhed him with a pretence for raiſing the ſiege of that place, and conducting a powerful army into Scythia, that he might chaſtiſe the treacherous ingratitude of a prince, who, after having overreached him by fraud, now mocked him with inſult. Having advanced to the frontier of Atheas's dominions, Philip had recourſe to his uſual arts, and ſent a herald with the enſigns of peace and friendſhip, to announce his arrival in Scythia, in order to perform a ſolemn vow which he had made during the ſiege of Byzantium, to erect a brazen ſtatue to Hercules on the banks of the Danube. The cunning Atheas was not the dupe of this artifice, which he knew how to encounter and elude with ſimilar addreſs. Without

[a] Juſtin. l. ix. c. ii.

CHAP. XXXVI.

praiſing or blaming the pious intention of the King, he coolly deſired him to forward the ſtatue, which he himſelf would take care to erect in the appointed place; that, ſhould it be ſet up with his concurrence and direction, it would probably be allowed to ſtand; otherwiſe, he could give no aſſurance that the Scythians would not pull it down, and melt it, to make points for their weapons [58].

Succeſs of his Scythian expedition.

The return of the Macedonian herald gave the ſignal for hoſtility. Philip entered the country with fire and ſword, deſtroying the foreſts and paſturage, and ſeizing the ſlaves and cattle, which formed the principal wealth of the Scythians. He ſeems to have employed ſeveral weeks in an expedition, the circumſtances of which, were they eſſential to the deſign of this work, could not be related with any fulneſs or accuracy. Countries in a paſtoral ſtate are but thinly peopled; and Philip was obliged to divide his forces, in order to vanquiſh with greater rapidity the wandering hordes, ſeparated from each other by wide intervals, according as a foreſt, a meadow, or a ſtream of freſh water, obtained their preference, and decided their temporary abode. A party of Macedonian ſoldiers beat up the quarters of a numerous and warlike clan, by which they were repelled, with the loſs of ſeveral ſlain or taken. Among the latter was Iſmenias, an eminent muſician, who had been invited by liberal rewards to reſide at the court of Philip, after being long admired in Greece for his performance on the flute. This diſtinguiſhed captive was ſent as a preſent to Atheas,

[58] Juſtin. l. ix. c. ii.

who

who received ſo little delight from his accompliſh- CHAP. XXXVI.
ments, that having heard him perform, he acknowledged the neighing of his horſe to be to his ear far more agreeable muſic. The ſkirmiſh in which Iſmenias was taken ſeems to have been the principal advantage obtained by the Barbarians, whoſe conſtitutional courage, and impetuous ill-directed fury, was everywhere overcome by the diſciplined valour of the Macedonian phalanx [59].

Philip reaped ſuch fruits from his Scythian expedition as might be expected in vanquiſhing a people who had no King but their general, no god but their ſword, and no cities but the ground on which they occaſionally encamped with their herds and families. The ſpoil conſiſted in arms, chariots, twenty thouſand robuſt captives, a greater number of mares deſtined to repleniſh the ſtuds of Pella [60]. We are not informed whether Philip erected the promiſed ſtatue to the great founder and protector of his family and kingdom. It is probable that he impoſed a tribute on the Scythians, as a mark of their ſubmiſſion and dependence, purpoſing to reduce them more thoroughly, when he had effected his great deſigns in Greece, to which country the ſilent operation of his intrigues now ſummoned his return. The nature and quantity of the booty.

But while he marched ſouthward at the head of an army encumbered with baggage and ſpoil, a very unexpected event threatened to blaſt his laurels, and to terminate at once his glory and his Philip, on his return, ſurpriſed by the Triballi.

[59] Juſtin. l. ii. c. v.

[60] Compare Juſtin. l. ix. c. ii. & Strabo, p. 752.

CHAP. XXXVI.

life. Allured by the hopes of ſharing the warlike plunder of the Scythians, the barbarous Triballi, who had been often conquered, but never thoroughly ſubdued, beſet by ambuſh, and vigorouſly aſſaulted the Macedonians, entangled amidſt the intricate windings of the mountains of Mœſia; hoping to cut off, by one ſtroke, the flower of a nation whoſe authority their own fierce ſpirit of independence had very reluctantly condeſcended to obey. The confuſion and the danger was increaſed by a mercenary band of Greeks, who, haraſſed by the fatigues of war and travelling, always clamorous for pay, which was very irregularly paid them, and perhaps jealous of the Macedonians, ſeized the preſent opportunity to deſert the ſtandard of Philip, and to reinforce the arms of the Triballi.

A [illegible] Per [illegible] the [illegible] fiche

The King of Macedon, too prudent to undertake ſuperfluous danger, never acquired by valour what might be obtained by ſtratagem; but when a neceſſary occaſion ſolicited his courage and his proweſs, he knew how to aſſume the hero, and (if we may tranſpoſe an ancient proverb) "to eke out the fox's with the lion's ſkin[1]." The urgency of the preſent emergence ſummoned all the firmneſs of his mind. With his voice and arm, he encouraged the aſtoniſhed and diſheartened Macedonians; conducted his faithful guards to the heat of the battle, and fought with unexampled bravery, till the ſame weapon which pierced

[1] Juſtin. l. ix. c. iii. Plut. in Alexand.
[2] Vid. Plut. in Lyſand.

his

his horſe, laid the rider ſenſeleſs on the ground. The young Alexander, who fought near him, derived peculiar glory from ſaving the life of his father, whom he covered with his ſhield, and defended by his ſword, until his attendants conveyed him to a place of ſafety[63]; the ſon ſo worthily ſucceeding to the command, that the tumult was fortunately appeaſed, and the Barbarians routed and put to flight. Philip's wound was attended with an incurable lameneſs, which he bore with much impatience. His magnanimous ſon endeavoured to remove his chagrine, by aſking, how he could be vexed at an accident, which continually reminded him of his valour[64]? CHAP. XXXVI.

and defeats the Triballi.

To repair the effects of this unforeſeen delay, the Macedonians haſtened through Thrace, where Philip, as he had reaſon to expect, was met by deputies from the Amphictyonic council, appointing him general of their forces, and requeſting him to march into Greece with all convenient ſpeed. The ſecret practices and intrigues, which had been ripening during the Scythian expedition, produced this extraordinary meſſage, the remote as well as immediate cauſes of which deſerve to be diſtinctly unravelled, being the laſt knot of a tragedy which involves the fate of Greece.

Philip appointed general of the Amphictyons. Olymp. cx. 2. A. C. 339.

The ſpirited reſiſtance of Selymbria and Byzantium, the ſucceſsful expeditions of Phocion in the Helleſpont and Propontis, the prodigal terrors of Ochus King of Perſia, who thought it impoſſible to

The ſituation of Philip's affairs encreaſes the Athe-

[63] Plut. de Fortun. Alexand. & Juſtin. l. ix. c. iii.

[64] Plut. in Alexand.

CHAP. XXXVI.

nians to exert themſelves with vigour. Olymp. ex 2. A. C. 339.

employ his wealth more uſefully than in bridling the ambition of Philip; above all, the continual expoſtulations and remonſtrances of Demoſthenes, conſpired to rouſe the Athenians from the lethargy in which they had been long ſunk, and animated them with a deſire to carry on the war with activity and effect againſt the common enemy of Greece. In order to ſave the ſtate, they conſented (though probably not without a violent ſtruggle) to aboliſh the very popular law, or rather abuſe, introduced by Eubulus. The theatrical amuſements, ſo paſſionately idoliſed by the multitude, were celebrated with leſs pomp and ſplendour; and the military fund was thenceforth applied to its original and proper deſtination. A fleet was equipped far ſuperior to the naval ſtrength of Macedon [65]. The troops and partiſans of that kingdom were driven from their ambuſhes in Megara, and in the neighbouring territories, where they had long watched an opportunity of deſtroying the liberty of Athens. Demoſthenes, and Hyperides, an orator ſecond only to Demoſthenes, were diſpatched into the Peloponneſus and other parts of Greece, to perſuade the ſeveral republics to ſecond the generous ardour of the Athenians, whoſe recent ſucceſs under Phocion added great weight to the arguments and eloquence of thoſe illuſtrious ſtateſmen [66].

Difficulties with which Philip had to ſtruggle.

Philip was accurately informed of all thoſe tranſactions; and the alarm univerſally ſpread among his faithful emiſſaries, inclined them rather to exaggerate than to conceal the danger. Highly

[65] Demoſthen. de Corona. [66] Idem, ibid.

provoked

provoked againſt the Athenians, the continual oppoſers of his greatneſs, he was unable to retaliate their injuries. If he attacked them by land, he muſt march through the territories of the Thebans and Theſſalians, who, ever ſelfiſh and capricious, would be ready to forſake him on the firſt reverſe of fortune. His diſgraceful expedition againſt the cities of the Propontis, rendered the preſent juncture extremely unfavourable to ſuch a hazardous deſign. Nor could he attempt, with any proſpect of ſucceſs, to attack the enemy by ſea, ſince the Athenian fleet ſo far exceeded his own, that it had interrupted, and almoſt totally deſtroyed, the commerce of Macedon. CHAP. XXXVI.

His intrigues with the incendiary Antiphon;

Amidſt this complication of difficulties, Philip ſhewed how well he underſtood the unſteady temper of the Greeks, by raiſing the ſiege of Byzantium, and burying himſelf in the wilds of Scythia, till the fuming animoſity of his adverſaries had time to evaporate. Not venturing on open hoſtility, he, meanwhile, employed two ſecret engines, which continued to work during his abſence, and from which he had reaſon to expect very ſignal advantages before his return. There lived at Athens a man of the name of Antiphon, bold, loud, and loquacious in the popular aſſembly, in which, however, he had not a title to vote, much leſs to ſpeak, his name not being recorded in the public regiſter of the city. This defect paſſed long unobſerved, through that ſupine negligence with which Demoſthenes ſo frequently upbraids his countrymen. At length the treaſon of Antiphon (for the Athenians

CHAP. XXXVI.

regarded an unqualified voter in the aſſembly as an uſurper of ſovereign power) was diſcovered, and arraigned by one of the many citizens to whom his inſolence and calumny had juſtly rendered him obnoxious; in conſequence of which impeachment, the ſuppoſititious Athenian was diveſted of his borrowed character, and driven with ignominy from a country, whoſe moſt ſacred honours he had ſo unworthily aſſumed. Stung with diſappointment and rage, Antiphon had recourſe to the King of Macedon, and offered himſelf for any enterpriſe, however bloody or deſperate, by which, in ſerving the intereſt of Philip, he might gratify his own thirſt for vengeance. The ambitious Macedonian kept his ends too ſteadily in view, and purſued them with too much ardour and perſeverance, to be very delicate in chooſing the means by which he might diſtreſs his adverſaries. He gleefully cloſed, therefore, with the propoſal of Antiphon, in whom he rejoiced to find an inſtrument ſo fit for his ſervice.

The ſuperiority of the Athenians by ſea, which their actual diligence in their docks and arſenals ſhewed them determined to maintain and increaſe, formed the chief obſtacle to the grandeur of Macedon. By whom the deſign was ſuggeſted, is unknown; but it was agreed between Philip and Antiphon, that the latter ſhould return to Athens in diſguiſe, inſinuate himſelf into the Piræus, and lie there in concealment, until he found an opportunity to ſet fire to the Athenian docks, and thus deſtroy at once the main hope of the republic.

While

CHAP. XXXVI.

While the artful King of Macedon eluded the ſtorm of his enemies by wandering in the woods of Scythia, his perfidious accomplice lurked, like a ſerpent in the boſom of Athens, being lodged without ſuſpicion in the harbour which glowed with the ardour of naval preparation, and into which were daily accumulated new maſſes of tar, timber, and other materials, alike proper for a fleet, and for the purpoſe of Antiphon.

The deſign detected by Demoſthenes.

But the vigilance of Demoſthenes diſcovered this deſperate deſign, when on the point of execution. He immediately flew to the Piræus, dragged Antiphon from his concealment, diveſted him of his diſguiſe, and produced him at the bar of the aſſembly. The capricious and deluded multitude, alike prone to anger and to compaſſion, were on this occaſion very differently affected from what might be expected. Inſtead of execrating a wretch capable of ſuch black deeds, they beheld, with pity, a man once regarded as their fellow citizen, brought before them after a long abſence, and accuſed, perhaps on vain preſumptions, of ſuch a horrid crime. They knew beſides the wicked artifices of their orators, who, to increaſe their own importance, often terrified the public with falſe alarms and imaginary dangers. Æſchines, and other partiſans of Philip, were at hand to ſtrengthen theſe impreſſions. They repreſented the whole tranſaction of Demoſthenes as a complication of fraud and cruelty; loudly inveighed againſt his inſolent triumph over the calamities of the unfortunate; and reproached his entering by force into the houſe where

CHAP. XXXVI.

where Antiphon was concealed, as a violation of freedom pregnant with the moſt dangerous conſequences, and as trampling on the reſpected maxim of Athenian law and religion, that every man's houſe was his ſanctuary [67]. Such was the effect of theſe clamours, that Antiphon was diſmiſſed without the formality of a trial, and might, perhaps, have returned his purpoſe with more ſecurity than before, had not the wiſer ſenate of the Areopagus thought fit carefully to examine the information of Demoſthenes. By the authority of that court, the traitor was again ſeized, and tried. Torture, which the inſtitution of domeſtic ſlavery introduced and rendered familiar in Greece, extorted from him a late and reluctant confeſſion; and his enormous guilt was puniſhed with as enormous ſeverity [68].

Philip's intrigues for embroiling the affairs of Greece.

Had the deteſtable enterpriſe of Antiphon been crowned with ill-merited ſucceſs, Philip would have attained his purpoſe of ruining Athens, by a rude ſtroke of vulgar perfidy. But the engines which he ſet in motion for gaining the ſame end, at a time when he was obliged to fly the awakened reſentment of Greece, and to bury in the wilds of Scythia the diſgrace ſuſtained before the walls of Byzantium, will not be eaſily matched by any parallel tranſactions in hiſtory, whether we conſider the profound artifice with which the plan was contrived and combined, the nice adaptation of the ſeveral parts, or the unwearied dexterity with which

[67] Lyſias paſſim in Agorat. & Eratoſth.

[68] Demoſthenes de Coron. who gives the honourable account of his own conduct deſcribed in the text.

the

CHAP. XXXVI.

the whole was carried into execution. It is on this occaſion that Demoſthenes might juſtly exclaim, "In one circumſtance, chiefly, is Philip diſtinguiſhed above all his ambitious predeceſſors, the enemies of Grecian freedom. His meaſures required the co-operation of traitors, and traitors he has found more corrupt and more dexterous than ever appeared in any former age; and, what is moſt worthy of remark, the principal inſtruments of his ambition were faſhioned in the boſom of that ſtate, whoſe public councils moſt openly oppoſed his greatneſs[59]."

His partiſans ſent from Athens as deputies to the Amphictyons.

The time approached for convening at Delphi the vernal aſſembly of the Amphictyons. It was evidently the intereſt of the Athenians, and might have been expected from their juſt reſentment againſt Philip, that they ſhould ſend ſuch deputies to the city of Apollo, as were moſt hoſtile to the Macedonian, and moſt zealous in the cauſe of liberty and their country. But intrigue and cabal prevailed over every motive of public utility; and the negligent or factious multitude were perſuaded, at a criſis which demanded the moſt faithful and incorrupt miniſters, to employ, as their repreſentatives in the Amphictyonic council, Æſchines and Midias; the former of whom had ſo often reproached, and the latter had, on one occaſion, ſtruck Demoſthenes in the public theatre[60]; and who were both not only the declared enemies

[59] Demoſth. de Coron.
[60] Demoſth. in Mid. & Æſchin. in Cteſiphont.

of

CHAP. XXXVI.

of this illuſtrious patriot, but, as well as their colleagues Diognetus and Thraſicles, the warm and active partiſans of the King of Macedon. Soon after their arrival at Delphi, Midias and Diognetus[74] pretended ſickneſs, that they might allow Æſchines to diſplay, uncontrouled, his ſuperior dexterity; and to act a part, which, requiring the deepeſt diſſimulation, might be performed moſt ſucceſsfully by a ſingle traitor. The Amphictyons were employed in repairing the temple; the ſacred offerings, which had been removed and ſold by the impiety of the Phocians, were collected from every quarter of Greece; and new preſents were made by ſeveral ſtates, to ſupply the place of the old, which could not be recovered.

Who preſent a dedication to Apollo highly offenſive to the Thebans.

The Athenians particularly ſignaliſed their pious munificence, and ſent, among other dedications, ſeveral golden ſhields, with the following inſcription: "Taken from the Medes and Thebans, when they fought againſt Greece." This offering, highly offenſive to the Theban deputies, was prematurely ſuſpended in the temple; the Thebans murmured, the Amphictyons liſtened to their complaints, and it was whiſpered in the council, that the Athenians deſerved puniſhment for preſenting their gift to the god, before it had been regularly conſecrated, together with the other offerings. Pretending high indignation at theſe murmurs, Æſchi-

[74] Æſchines ſays, Διογνητον πυρεττειν; "That Diognetus was ſeized with a fever, and that the ſame misfortune happened to Midias," p. 290.

nes

nes[72] rushed into the assembly, and began a formal, yet spirited defence of his countrymen; when he was rudely interrupted by a Locrian, of Amphissa[73], a city eight miles distant from Delphi, which growing populous and powerful on the ruins of Crissa and Cirrha, had ventured to cultivate the Cirrhean plain, which, near three centuries before, had been desolated by the Amphictyons, solemnly consecrated to Apollo, and devoted to perpetual sterility[74].

CHAP. XXXVI.

The Athenians reproached by the deputy of Amphissa.

The artful Locrian, affecting a religious zeal not less ardent than the patriotism of Æschines, clamorously interrupted that orator, calling aloud in the assembly, that it ill became the dignity of the Amphictyons to hear with patience the justification, much less the praises of Athens, a city impious and profane, which, in defiance of human and divine laws, had so recently abetted the execrable sacrilege of the Phocians; that if the Amphictyons followed his advice, or consulted the dictates of duty and honour, they would not allow the detested name of the Athenians to be mentioned in that august council[75].

72 Αρχομενου δε μου λεγειν, και προθυμοτερον πως εισεληλυθοτος εις το συνεδριον. Æschin. p. 290.

73 Æschines varnishes the story with mimitable address. αναβοητας τις των Αμφισσεων, ανερητο ασελγεστατος και ω ημοι εφαινετο ουδεμιας παιδειας μετεσχηκως, ισως δε και δαιμονος τινος εξαμαρτανειν αυτον προαγομενος. "He was interrupted by the vociferation of a certain Amphissean, a man the most impudent, totally illiterate, and perhaps impelled to folly by some offended divinity."

74 See these events particularly related, vol. i. c. v. p. 213.

75 Æschin in Ctesiphont.

Æschines

CHAP. XXXVI.

diſappeared amidſt the enormous impieties of the Amphiſſeans, which had been ſo forcibly painted to the ſuperſtitious fancies of the terrified multitude. It was determined, after violent contentions between thoſe who accuſed, and thoſe who defended, this unhappy people, that the Amphictyons, having ſummoned the aſſiſtance of the citizens of Delphi, ſhould next day repair to the Cirrhean plain, in order to burn, cut down, and deſtroy the houſes and plantations, which had ſo long adorned and defiled that devoted territory. The ravagers met with little oppoſition in performing this pious devaſtation; but as they returned towards the temple, they were overtaken and aſſaulted by a numerous party of Amphiſſeans, who threw them into diſorder, made ſeveral priſoners, and purſued the reſt to Delphi. The ſignal of war was now raiſed; the inſulted Amphictyons, in whoſe perſons the ſanctity of religion had been violated, complained to their reſpective republics, while the recent audacity of the Amphiſſeans aggravated their ancient crimes and enormities. But agreeably to the languor inherent in councils which poſſeſs only a delegated authority, the meaſures of the Amphictyons were extremely low and irreſolute: and, when they at length raiſed an army under the command of Cottyphus, a Theſſalian, and a creature of Philip's, their operations were ill conducted and unſucceſsful [79].

The Amphictyons appoint

Affairs were thus brought to the iſſue which had been expected by Æſchines, and the accomplices

[79] Æſchin. in Cteſiphont.

who

CHAP. XXXVI.

who aſſiſted him in promoting the intereſt of the King of Macedon. They loudly declaimed in the council againſt the lukewarm indifference of the Grecian ſtates in a war which ſo deeply concerned the national religion. "It became the Amphictyons, therefore, as the miniſters of Apollo, and the guardians of his temple, to ſeek out and employ ſome more powerful inſtrument of the divine vengeance. Philip of Macedon had formerly given proof of his pious zeal in the Phocian war. That prince was now returning in triumph from his ſcythian expedition. His aſſiſtance muſt again be demanded (nor would it be demanded in vain) to defend the cauſe of Apollo and the ſacred ſhrine."* This propoſal being approved, a deputation of the Amphictyons met Philip in Thrace. He received their welcome meſſage with well-affected ſurpriſe, but declared his veneration for the commands of the council, which he ſhould be ever ready to obey [80].

Philip their general.

The vigilant prince had already taken proper meaſures for acting as general of the Amphictyons, and provided a ſufficient number of tranſports to convey his army into Greece. He underſtood that notwithſtanding the intrigues of Æſchines and his aſſociates, the Athenians had been perſuaded by Demoſthenes to oppoſe his deſign, and that their admirals Chares and Proxenus prepared to intercept his paſſage with a ſuperior naval force. To baffle this oppoſition, Philip employed a ſtratagem. A

Philip eludes the Athenian fleet by a ſtratagem.

[80] Æſchin. in Cteſiphont.

CHAP. XXXVI.

light brigantine was diſpatched to Macedon with letters of ſuch import as gave reaſon to believe that he purpoſed immediately returning into Thrace [91]. Beſides writing to Antipater, his principal confidant and miniſter, he took care to maſk his artifice, by ſending letters to his Queen Olympias. The brigantine fell deſignedly into the hands of the Athenians. The diſpatches were ſeized and read; but the letter for the Queen was politely forwarded to its deſtination [92]. The Athenian admirals quitted their ſtation, and Philip arrived, without oppoſition, on the coaſt of Locris, from whence he proceeded to Delphi.

Philip defeats the Athenian mercenaries, and takes poſſeſſion of Amphiſſa.

Though the Macedonians alone were far more numerous than ſeemed neceſſary for the reduction of Amphiſſa, the King, in the month of November, diſpatched circular letters through moſt parts of Greece, requiring from the Thebans, Peloponneſians, and other ſtates, the aſſiſtance of their combined arms to maintain the cauſe of the Amphictyons and Apollo. The Thebans, rather intimidated by a powerful army in their neighbourhood, than inclined to the Macedonians, of whoſe deſigns they had lately become extremely jealous, ſent a ſmall body of infantry to join the ſtandard of Philip. The Lacedæmonians, long diſguſted with the meaſures of Greece, and envying the power of Macedon, which they had not public ſpirit to oppoſe, beheld all recent tranſactions with a contemptuous diſregard, obſtinate in their pur-

[91] Polyæn. l. iv. c. 11

[92] Plut. in Demetr.

poſe,

CHAP. XXXVI.

poſe of preſerving a ſullen neutrality. The Athenians, awakened by the activity of Demoſthenes to a ſenſe of their danger, oppoſed Philip with ten thouſand mercenaries, deſpiſing the threats of the oracle againſt thoſe who took part with the impious Amphiſſeans. The orator boldly accuſed the Pythian prieſteſs and her miniſters of being bribed to Philippiſe, or to propheſy as might beſt ſuit the intereſt of Philip; while Æſchines, on the other hand, accuſed his adverſary of having received a thouſand drachmas, and an annual penſion of twenty minæ, to abet the impiety of Aphiſſa[83]. The King of Macedon, without waiting for any farther reinforcement than that which he had received from the Thebans, beſieged, took, and garriſoned that unfortunate city; and having routed and put to flight the Athenian mercenaries, ſpread the terror of his arms round all the neighbouring territory[84].

The Athenians, while they negociate with Philip, raiſe a confederacy againſt that prince.

The news of theſe events occaſioned dreadful conſternation in Athens. The terrified citizens, who could not be perſuaded to tear themſelves from their beloved pleaſures in order to defend Amphiſſa, believed the moment approaching when they muſt defend their own walls againſt the victorious invader. After leſs altercation and delay than uſually prevailed in their councils, they ſent an embaſſy to Philip, craving a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, and, at the ſame time, diſpatched their ableſt orators to rouſe the Greeks from their ſupine negligence, and

[83] Æſchin. in Cteſiphont. [84] Demoſthen. de Corona.

CHAP. XXXVI.

to animate and unite them againſt a Barbarian, who, under pretence of avenging the offended divinity of Apollo, meditated the ſubjugation of their common country. Megara, Eubœa, Leucas, Corinth, Corcyra, and Achaia, favourably received the ambaſſadors, and readily entered into a league againſt Macedon. Thebes fluctuated in uncertainty, hating the Athenians as rivals, and dreading Philip as a tyrant. The ſituation of the Theban territory, through which Philip muſt march before he could invade Attica, rendered the deciſion of that people peculiarly important [85]. To gain or to retain their friendſhip, the intrigues of Philip, the eloquence of Athens, had been employed with unwearied aſſiduity. The Thebans temporiſed, deliberated, reſolved, and changed their reſolutions. The partiſans of Athens were moſt numerous, thoſe of Macedon moſt active, while the great body of the Theban people heard the clamours and arguments of both parties with a ſtupid indifference, and took their meaſures with ſuch lethargic ſlowneſs, as diſgraced even the heavy character of *Bœotians* [86].

The Thebans fluctuate between the party of Philip and that of the Athenians.

To fix their wavering irreſolution, and to awaken their dull inſenſibility, Philip at length had recourſe to the ſtrong impreſſion of terror. From the general wreck of Phocis, his foreſight and policy had ſpared the walls of Elatæa, a city important by its ſituation between two ranges of mountains, which opened into Phocis and Bœotia. The ci-

Philip ſeizes Elatæa. Olymp. cx. 3. A. C. 338.

[85] Diodor. l. xvi. p. 425. [86] Demoſthen. de Coron.

tadel

CHAP. XXXVI.

tadel was built on an eminence, washed by the river Cephissus, which flowed in a winding course through Bœotia into the lake Copais; a broad expanse of water, which, by several navigable streams, communicated with Attica. This valuable post conveniently situate for receiving reinforcements from Thessaly and Macedon, commanding the passage into Bœotia, distant only two days march from Attica, and which, being garrisoned by a powerful army, might continually alarm the safety both of Thebes and of Athens, Philip seized with equal boldness and celerity [87], drew the greater part of his troops thither, repaired and strengthened the walls of the place, and having thus secured himself from surprise, watched a favourable opportunity of inflicting punishment on the Athenians, who had given him sufficient ground to represent them as the enemies of the Amphictyonic council [88], by whose authority the King of Macedon affected to be guided in all his operations.

Alarm thereby excited in Athens.

We are not informed of the immediate effect of this vigourous measure on the resolutions of the Thebans; but the terror and consternation of the uncorrupt part of the citizens may be conjectured by what happened on the same occasion at Athens. It was late in the evening when a courier arrived with the melancholy tidings that Philip had taken possession of Elatæa. The people had retired to their houses; the magistrates supped in the Prytanæum; but in a moment all were abroad.

[87] Diodor. & Demosth. ubi supra.

[88] Æschin. in Ctesiphont.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Some haſtened to the generals; others went in queſt of the officer[89] whoſe buſineſs it was to ſummon the citizens to council; moſt flocked to the market-place; and, in order to make room for the aſſembly, pulled downed or burned the temporary wooden edifices erected by the tradeſmen or artificers who expoſed their wares to ſale in that ſpacious ſquare. Before dawn the confuſion ceaſed; the citizens were all aſſembled; the ſenators took their places; the preſident reported to them the alarming intelligence that had been received. The herald then proclaimed with a loud voice, "That he, who had any thing to offer on the preſent emergence, ſhould mount the roſtrum, and propoſe his advice." The invitation, though frequently repeated, was received with ſilence and diſmay. The magiſtrates, the generals, the demagogues, were all preſent; but none obeyed the ſummons of the herald, which Demoſthenes calls the voice of their country imploring the aſſiſtance of her children[90].

Demoſthenes exhorts the Athenians to oppoſe Philip to the utmoſt of their power by ſea and land.

At length that accompliſhed orator aroſe, and obtained the nobleſt triumph of patriotiſm; by urging, amidſt univerſal conſternation, an advice prudent, generous, and ſucceſsful. He began by darting a ray of hope into the deſponding citizens, and aſſuring them that were not the Thebans, the greater part at leaſt of the Thebans, hoſtile to

[89] Τον σαλπιγκτην εκαλεν, De Corona p. 317.

[90] Κάλλιστης δε της κοινης της πατριδος φωνης τον ερωντα υπερ σωτηριας; ην γαρ ὁ κηρυξ κατα τους νομους φωνην αφιησι, ταυτην κοινην της πατριδος δικαιον ἡγεισθαι, p. 317. The paſſage that follows has been often cited, and can never be too much ſtudied, as one of the fineſt examples of oratorical narration.

Philip,

Philip, that prince would not be actually poſted at Elatæa, but on the Athenian frontier. He exhorted his countrymen to ſhake off the unmanly terror which had ſurpriſed them; and, inſtead of fearing for themſelves, to fear only for their neighbours, whoſe territories were more immediately threatened, and who muſt ſuſtain the firſt ſhock of the invaſion. "Let your forces," continued he, "immediately march to Eleuſis, in order to ſhow the Thebans, and all Greece, that as thoſe who have ſold their country are ſupported by the Macedonian forces at Elatæa, ſo you are ready to defend with your hereditary courage and fortune thoſe who fight for liberty. Let ambaſſadors at the ſame time be ſent to Thebes, to remind that republic of the good offices conferred by your anceſtors; to aſſure the Thebans, that you do not conſider them as aliens; that the people of Athens have forgot all recent hoſtilities with the citizens of Greece, and will never forſake the cauſe of their common country, which is actually, in a peculiar manner, the cauſe of Thebes. To this community, therefore, offer your moſt diſintereſted ſervices. To make any demand for yourſelves, would be highly improper in the preſent juncture. Aſſure them that you are deeply affected by their danger, and prepared generouſly to defend them to the utmoſt of your power."

CHAP. XXXVI.

Theſe propoſals being received with general approbation, Demoſthenes drew up a formal decree for carrying them into execution; a decree which

The decree for that purpoſe, dated Auguſt.

CHAP. XXXVI.

may be considered as the expiring voice of a people, who, agreeably to the magnanimous counsel of Pericles, had determined, that when every thing earthly perished, the fame of Athens should be immortal [91]. Having painted, in the most odious colours, the perfidy and violence of Philip; and having stigmatised with due severity the recent in-

[91] See vol. ii. c. xv. p. 229. In defending his own conduct, notwithstanding the unfortunate consequences with which it was attended, Demosthenes seems animated by the true spirit of Pericles. Βουλομαι τι καὶ παραδοξον ειπειν· καὶ μου προ διος καὶ θεων! μηδεις την υπερβολην θαυμαση, αλλα μετ' ευνοια, ὁ λεγω θεωρησατω· ει γαρ απασι προδηλα τα μελλοντα γενησεσθαι, καὶ προηδεσαν παντες, καὶ συ προυλεγε Αισχινη, καὶ διεμαρτερου, βοων καὶ κεκραγως, ὁς ουδε εφθεγξω· ουδε ουτως αποστατεον τῃ πολει τουτων ην· ειπερ η δοξης, η προγονων, η του μελλοντος αιωνος ειχε λογον. The beauties of such passages, depending chiefly on collocation of words and sentiments, of which Demosthenes, of all writers, was the greatest master, cannot be translated. The meaning is, "I will venture to say what is contrary to common opinion; and, in the name of the Gods! regard not its extravagance, but examine it with indulgence. Had all of you foreseen what was going to happen, had the consequences of our conduct been manifest, and had you, Æschines, repeatedly proclaimed them with a loud voice, you, who then opened not your mouth, yet the Athenians ought not to have forsaken the cause of Grecian freedom, unless they forsook their glory, their ancestors, and their renown with succeeding ages." The same thought is expressed in language still bolder, after the hearers had been prepared for it, by a page of the most animated eloquence: Αλλα ουκ εστι, ὁπως ημαρτετε, ανδρες Αθηναιοι τον υπερ τῃ ἁπαντων ελευθεριας καὶ σωτηριας κινδυνον αραμενοι· ου μα τους εν Μαραθωνι προκινδυνευσαντας των προγονων &c. See the passage, p. 343. He swears by those who fell at Marathon, Platæa, Salamis, and Artemisium, that the Athenians did not err in defending, with unequal fortune, and against superior force, the public safety and liberty. Such passages, when detached, may appear extravagant and gigantic; but, as in the church of St. Peter's, where all is arranged with such admirable symmetry, that no figure appears beyond the natural size, so, in the works of Demosthenes, nothing appears monstrous, because all is great.

stances

CHAP. XXXVI.

ſtances of his injuſtice and luſt of power, the orator concludes, "For ſuch reaſons, the ſenate and people of Athens, emulating the glory of their anceſtors, to whom the liberty of Greece was ever dearer than the intereſt of their particular republic, and humbly revering the gods and heroes, guardians of the Athenian city and territory, whoſe aid they now implore, have reſolved to ſend to the coaſt of Bœotia a fleet of two hundred ſail, to march to Eleuſis with their whole military ſtrength, to diſpatch ambaſſadors to the ſeveral ſtates of Greece, and particularly to the Thebans, encouraging them to remain unterrified amidſt the dangers which threaten them, and to exert themſelves manfully in defence of the common cauſe, with aſſurance that the people of Athens, unmindful of old or later differences which have prevailed between the two republics, are determined and ready to ſupport them with all their faculties and reſources; their treaſures, their navies, and their arms; well knowing, that to contend for pre-eminence with the Greeks is an honourable conteſt; but to be commanded by a foreigner, and to ſuffer a Barbarian to wreſt the ſovereignty from their hands, would tarniſh their hereditary glory, and diſgrace their country with the remoteſt ages of poſterity.

Demoſthenes perſuades the Thebans to join the ſtandard of Athens.

The ſame undaunted ſpirit which dictated this decree, attended the exertions of Demoſthenes in his embaſſy to Thebes, in which he triumphed over the intrigues of Amyntas and Clearchus, and over the eloquence of Philon of Byzantium, the emiſſaries employed by Philip on this important occaſion.

CHAP. XXXVI.

occaſion. The Thebans paſſed a decree for receiving with gratitude the proffered aſſiſtance of Athens; and the Athenian army, having ſoon after taken the field, were admitted within the Theban walls, and treated with all the flattering diſtinctions of ancient hoſpitality [92].

Preparations on both ſides for the battle of Chæronæa.

Meanwhile Philip having advanced towards the Bœotian frontier, his detached parties were foiled in two rencounters with the confederates. Regardleſs of theſe loſſes, to which, perhaps, he purpoſely ſubmitted, as neceſſary ſtratagems to draw the enemy from their walls, he proceeded with his main body, thirty-two thouſand ſtrong, to the plain of Chæronæa. This place was conſidered by Philip as well adapted to the evolutions and exertions of the Macedonian phalanx; and the ground for his encampment, and afterwards the field of battle, were choſen with equal ſagacity; having in view, on one ſide, a temple of Hercules, whom the Macedonians regarded as the author of their royal houſe, and the high protector of their fortune; and, on the other, the banks of the Thermodon, a ſmall river flowing into the Cephiſſus, announced by the oracles of Greece as the deſtined ſcene of deſolation and woe to their unhappy country [93]. The generals of the confederate Greeks had been much leſs careful to avail themſelves of the powerful

[92] Demoſthenes, who furniſhes the above narrative, avoids dwelling on the following melancholy events, which are related by Diodorus, l. xvi. p. 475, & ſeqq. Plut. in Alexand. Strabo, l. ix. p. 414. Juſtin. l. ix. c. iii. & Pauſanias Bœotic.

[93] Plut. in Vit. Demoſth.

ſanctions

CHAP. XXXVI.

ſanctions of ſuperſtition. Unreſtrained by inauſpicious ſacrifices, the Athenians had left their city at the exhortation of Demoſthenes, to wait no other omen but the cauſe of their country. Regardleſs of oracles, they afterwards advanced to the ill-fated Thermodon, accompanied by the Thebans, and the ſcanty reinforcements raiſed by the iſlands, and by ſuch ſtates of Peloponneſus as had joined their alliance. Their army amounted to thirty thouſand men, animated by the nobleſt cauſe for which men can fight, but commanded by the Athenians Lyſicles and Chares, the firſt but little, and the ſecond unfavourably, known; and by Theagenes the Theban, a perſon ſtrongly ſuſpected of treachery; all three creatures of cabal, and tools of faction, ſlaves to intereſt or voluptuouſneſs, whoſe characters (eſpecially as they had been appointed to command the only ſtates whoſe ſhame, rather than virtue, yet oppoſed the public enemy) are alone ſufficient to prove that Greece was ripe for ruin.

Alexander routs the Thebans.

When the day approached for aboliſhing the tottering independence of thoſe turbulent republics, which their own internal vices, and the arms and intrigues of Philip, had been gradually undermining for twenty-two years, both armies formed in battle array before the riſing of the ſun. The right wing of the Macedonians was headed by Philip, who judged proper to oppoſe in perſon the dangerous fury of the Athenians. His ſon Alexander, only nineteen years of age, but ſurrounded by experienced officers, commanded the left wing, which faced

CHAP. XXXVI.

faced the Sacred Band of the Thebans. The auxiliaries of either army were poſted in the centre. In the beginning of the action, the Athenians charged with impetuoſity, and repelled the oppoſing diviſions of the enemy; but the youthful ardour of Alexander obliged the Thebans [94] to retire, the Sacred Band being cut down to a man. The activity of the young prince completed their diſorder, and purſued the ſcattered multitude with his Theſſalian cavalry.

Philip defeats the Athenians.

Meantime the Athenian generals, too much elated by their firſt advantage, loſt the opportunity to improve it; for, having repelled the centre and right wing of the Macedonians, except the phalanx, which was compoſed of choſen men, and immediately commanded by the King, they, inſtead of attempting to break this formidable body, by attacking it in flank, preſſed [95] forward againſt the fugitives, the inſolent Lyſicles exclaiming in vain triumph, "Purſue, my brave countrymen! let us drive the cowards to Macedon." Philip obſerved this raſh folly with contempt, and ſaying to thoſe around him, "Our enemies know not how to conquer," commanded his phalanx, by a rapid evolution, to gain an adjacent eminence, from which they poured down, firm and collected, on the advancing Athenians, whoſe confidence of ſucceſs had rendered them totally inſenſible to danger. But the reſiſtleſs ſhock of the Macedonian ſpear converted their fury into deſpair. Above a thou-

[94] Plutarch. in Alexand. [95] Polyæn. Stratagem. l. iv. c. ii.

ſand

CHAP. XXXVI.

ſand fell, two thouſand were taken priſoners; the reſt eſcaped by a precipitate and ſhameful flight. Of the Thebans more were killed than taken. Few of the confederates periſhed, as they had little ſhare in the action; and as Philip, perceiving his victory to be complete, gave orders to ſpare the vanquiſhed, with a clemency unuſual in that age, and not leſs honourable to his underſtanding than his heart; ſince his humanity thus ſubdued the minds, and gained the affections, of his conquered enemies [96].

Philip viſits the field of battle.

According to the Grecian cuſtom, the battle was followed by an entertainment, at which the king, preſiding in perſon, received the congratulations of his friends, and the humble ſupplications of the Athenian deputies, who craved the bodies of their ſlain. This requeſt, which ſerved as an acknowledgment of their defeat, was readily granted; but, before they availed themſelves of the permiſſion to carry off their dead, Philip, who with his natural intemperance, had protracted the entertainment till morning, iſſued forth with his licentious companions to viſit the field of battle; their heads crowned with feſtive garlands, their minds intoxicated with the inſolence of wine and victory; yet the ſight of the ſlaughtered Thebans, which firſt preſented itſelf to their eyes, and particularly the ſacred band of friends and lovers, who lay covered with honourable wounds, on the ſpot where they had been drawn up to fight, brought back theſe

[96] Pauſan. Achaic. Diodor. & Juſtin. ubi ſupra.

inſolent

CHAP. XXXVI.

inſolent ſpectators to the ſentiments of reaſon and humanity. Philip beheld the awful ſcene with a mixture of admiration and pity; and, after an affecting ſilence, denounced a ſolemn curſe againſt thoſe who baſely ſuſpected the friendſhip of ſuch brave men to be tainted with criminal and infamous paſſions [97].

His levity reprimanded by Demades.

But this ſerious temper of mind did not laſt long; for, having proceeded to that quarter of the field where the Athenians had fought and fallen, the King abandoned himſelf to all the levity and littleneſs of the moſt petulant joy. Inſtead of being impreſſed with a deep ſenſe of his recent danger, and with dutiful gratitude to Heaven for the happineſs of his eſcape, and the importance of his victory, Philip only compared the boaſtful pretenſions, with the mean performances of his Athenian enemies; and ſtruck by this contraſt, rehearſed, with the inſolent mockery of a buffoon, the pompous declaration of war lately drawn up by the ardent patriotiſm and too ſanguine hopes of Demoſthenes. It was on this occaſion that the orator Demades at once rebuked the folly, and flattered the ambition of Philip, by aſking him, Why he aſſumed the character of Therſites, when fortune aſſigned him the part of Agamemnon [98]?

The different treatment of the Athenians and Thebans.

Whatever might be the effect of this ſharp reprimand [99], it is certain that the King of Macedon indulged not, on any future occaſion, a vain

[97] Plutarch. in Pelopid. [98] Idem in Demoſthen.

[99] Plutarch aſcribes, to this ſmart obſervation, the moderation of Philip's ſubſequent conduct.

triumph

triumph over the vanquiſhed. When adviſed by his generals to advance into Attica, and to render himſelf maſter of Athens, he calmly replied, "Have I done ſo much for glory, and ſhall I deſtroy the theatre of that glory ? ?" His ſubſequent conduct correſponded with the moderation of this ſentiment. He reſtored, without ranſom, the Athenian priſoners; who, at departing, having demanded their baggage, were alſo gratified in this particular; the King pleaſantly obſerving, that the Athenians ſeemed to think he had not conquered them in earneſt [100]. Soon afterwards he diſpatched his ſon Alexander, and Antipater, the moſt truſted of his miniſters, to offer them peace on ſuch favourable terms as they had little reaſon to expect. They were required to ſend deputies to the Iſthmus of Corinth, where, to adjuſt their reſpective contingents of troops for the Perſian expedition, Philip purpoſed aſſembling, early in the ſpring, a general convention of all the Grecian ſtates: they were ordered to ſurrend · th iſle of Samos, which actually formed the princ al ſtation of their fleet, and the main bulwark and defence of all their maritime or inſular poſſeſſions; but they were allowed to enjoy, unmoleſted, the Attic territory, with their hereditary form of govern nt, and flattered by the acquiſition of Oropus, for which they had ſo long contended with the unhappy Thebans [101]. It was not merely in being

CHAP. XXXVI.

[100] Plut. in Apoph. [100] Idem, ibid.

[101] Pauſanias Bœotic. Diodorus, ubi ſupra.

CHAP. XXXVI.

deprived of this city, that the Thebans experienced the indignation of the conqueror. From the tranſactions between Macedon and Thebes, in the early part of his reign, Philip thought himſelf entitled to treat that people, not as open and generous enemies, whoſe ſtruggle for freedom deſerved his clemency, but as faithleſs and inſidious rebels, who merited all the ſeverity of his juſtice. He puniſhed the republican party with unrelenting vigour; reſtored the traitors, whom they had baniſhed, to the firſt honours of the republic; and, in order to ſupport their government, placed a Macedonian garriſon in the Theban citadel [103].

Cauſes from which it proceeded.

In his oppoſite treatment of the two republics, Philip, it is probable, was ſwayed neither by affection nor hatred: his generoſity and his rigour were alike artificial, and both directed by his intereſt. Beſides the different characters of the Thebans and Athenians, which rendered the former as ſenſible to the impreſſion of fear, as the latter were ſuſceptible of gratitude and prone to eulogy, the Thebans had too long, and too early abandoned the cauſe of Greece, and too ſtrenuouſly exerted themſelves in eſtabliſhing the power of Macedon, to acquire much reputation by one unſucceſsful attempt to reſiſt Philip, to which they had been at length roufed leſs by their own public ſpirit or courage, than by the zeal and eloquence of Demoſthenes. The Athenians, on the contrary, who from the beginning had oppoſed the views of this prince,

[103] Juſtin. l. ix. c. iv.

though

CHAP. XXXVI.

though with far leſs prudence and activity than their ſituation required; who, through the whole courſe of his reign, had continued to traverſe his meaſures, and to ſpurn his authority; and who, previouſly to the laſt fatal encounter at Chæronæa, had endeavoured to form a general confederacy, and when that proved impoſſible, had determined, almoſt unaſſiſted and alone, to reſiſt the common foe, ſeemed entitled to ſuch gratitude and applauſe, as compaſſion beſtows on ill-directed valour and unfortunate patriotiſm; and the rigorous treatment of ſuch a people muſt have ſhocked the ſentiments, and exaſperated the hatred, of every citizen of Greece, who yet retained the faintеſt tincture of ancient principles, or who was ſtill animated by the ſmalleſt ſpark of public ſpirit.

Daring meaſures of the Athenians after their defeat.

Philip too well underſtood his intereſt, thus to tarniſh the glory, and riſk the fruits of victory, although the daring and imprudent behaviour of the Athenians, after the battle, might have ſerved to juſtify the harſheſt meaſures. The firſt news of their defeat filled the city with tumult or conſternation. But when the diſorder ceaſed, the people ſhewed themſelves diſpoſed to place their whole confidence in arms, none in the mercy of Philip. Upon the motion of Hyperides [104], a decree paſſed for ſending to the Piræus their wives, children, and moſt valuable effects, together with the ſacred images and ornaments of their gods. By the ſame decree, the rights and freedom of the

[104] Plut. in Vita Hiperid.

CHAP. XXXVI.

city were beſtowed on ſtrangers and ſlaves, and reſtored to perſons declared infamous, on this one condition, that they exerted themſelves in the public defence. Demoſthenes, with equal ſucceſs, propoſed a decree for repairing the walls and fortifications, a work which, being himſelf appointed to ſuperintend, he generouſly accompliſhed at the expence of his private fortune[165]. The orator Lycurgus undertook the more eaſy taſk of impeaching the worthleſs Lyſicles, whoſe miſconduct in the day of battle had been the immediate cauſe of the late fatal diſaſter. In a diſcourſe calculated to revive the ſpirit of military enthuſiaſm, which had anciently animated the Athenians, the ſpeaker thus warmly apoſtrophiſed the conſcious guilt of the mute and trembling general: "The Athenians have been totally defeated in an engagement; the enemy have erected a trophy to the eternal diſhonour of Athens; and Greece is now prepared to receive the deteſted yoke of ſervitude. You were our commander on that inglorius day; and ſtill *you* breathe the vital air, enjoy the light of the ſun, and appear in our public places, a living monument of the diſgrace and ruin of your country." The quick reſentment of the hearers ſupplied the conſequence, and the criminal was dragged to execution[166].

Philip's moderation in victory.

Neither the inflammatory decrees, nor the hoſtile preparations, of Athens, could ſhake the moderation of Philip, or determine him to alter the

[165] Demoſth. de Corona. [166] Diodor. l. xvi. p. 477.

favour-

CHAP. XXXVI.

favourable terms of accommodation, which he had already propoſed by his ambaſſadors. The patriotic or republican party, headed by the orators juſt mentioned, breathed hatred and revenge; but at the interceſſion of the Areopagus, which on this occaſion acted ſuitably to the fame of its ancient wiſdom, the prudent and virtuous Phocian [107] was appointed to the chief command. The diſcernment of this ſtateſman and general, whoſe merit had been neglected while there was yet time to perform any eſſential ſervice, might eaſily perceive the vanity of attempting to recover the honour of a people, who, antecedently to their defeat by Philip, had been ſtill more fatally ſubdued by their own pernicious vices. Amidſt the important events of the Macedonian war, and amidſt the dreadful misfortunes which, in conſequence of its melancholy iſſue, hung over their country, a ſet of Athenian citizens, diſtinguiſhed by their rank and fortune, and known by the appellation of the Sixty, from the accidental number of their original inſtitution, regularly aſſembled into a club, where all ſerious tranſactions were treated with levity and ridicule, and day after day ſpent in feaſting, gaming, and the ſprightly exerciſes of wit and pleaſantry. This deteſtible ſociety ſaw [108], without emotion, their countrymen arming for battle; with the moſt careleſs indifference they received accounts of their captivity or death; nor did the public calamities in any degree diſturb their feſti-

Extreme corruption of the Athenians.

[107] Plutarch in Phocion.

[108] Athenæus, l. xiv. p. 614.

CHAP. XXXVI.

vity, or interrupt, for a moment, the tranquil courſe of their pleaſures. Their fame having reached Macedon, Philip ſent them a ſum of money, to ſupport the expence of an aſſociation ſo favourable to his views. But what opinion muſt Phocion have formed of ſuch an eſtabliſhment; or how was it poſſible for any diſpaſſionate man of ordinary prudence to expect, that a republic ſo totally degenerate, as to foſter ſuch wretches within its boſom, could ſucceſsfully wage war againſt a vigilant and enterpriſing enemy?

They determine to accept the terms of peace offered by Philip.

The arguments of the wiſeſt portion of the community for accepting the peace proffered by Philip were ſtrengthened and confirmed by the return of Demades with the Athenian priſoners taken at Chæronæa, who unanimouſly blazed forth the praiſes of their generous conqueror. Ambaſſadors were accordingly diſpatched to the King of Macedon, to accept and ratify the treaty of peace, upon the terms which he had condeſcended to offer; and the only marks of deference ſhewn to the violent party, who ſtill clamoured for war, were, that Demochares, who oſtentatiouſly affected a rude boldneſs of ſpeech againſt Philip, was named among the ambaſſadors; and that Demoſthenes, the irreconcileable enemy of that prince, was appointed to pronounce the funeral oration in honour of thoſe ſlain at Chæronæa.

Inſolence of Demochares.

Demochares acquitted himſelf of his commiſſion with that extravagant petulance which naturally flowed from his character; and which, in the Grecian commonwealths, too frequently diſgraced

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CHAP. XXXVI.

the decency of public tranſactions. At their audience of leave, Philip, with leſs ſincerity than politeneſs, laviſhed on the ambaſſadors his uſual profeſſions of friendſhip, and obligingly aſked them, Is there any thing farther in which I can gratify the Athenians? "Yes," ſaid Demochares, "hang thyſelf." The juſt indignation of all preſent broke forth againſt this unprovoked outrage; when Philip, with admirable coolneſs, ſilenced the clamour, by ſaying, "Let this ridiculous brawler depart unmoleſted;" and then turning to the other ambaſſadors, "Go, tell your countrymen, that thoſe who can utter ſuch contumelies are leſs juſt and moderate, than he who can pardon them [9]."

Oration of Demoſthenes in honour of thoſe ſlain at Chæronæa.

The honourable employment conferred on Demoſthenes, which ſhewed that, notwithſtanding the unfortunate iſſue of his counſels, the Athenians ſtill approved his principles and his patriotiſm, might have been expected to elevate his ſentiments and his language to the higheſt ſtrain of eloquence. But the complexion of the times no longer admitted thoſe daring flights to which he had been accuſtomed to ſoar; and the powers of the orator ſeem to have declined with the fortunes of his country. With too apparent caution he avoids the mention of all recent tranſactions, and dwells with tireſome minuteneſs on the ancient, and even fabulous, parts of the Athenian ſtory. One tranſient flaſh of light breaks forth towards the end

[9] Seneca de Ira.

CHAP. XXXVI.

of his diſcourſe, when, commemorating the glory of the ſlain, he ſays, that the removal of thoſe zealous republicans from their country was like taking the ſun from the world [110]; a figure bold, yet juſt; ſince after the battle of Chæronæa, there remained no further hopes of reſiſting the conqueror — the dignity of freedom was for ever loſt, and the gloom of night and tyranny deſcended and thickened over Greece [111].

[110] Ὥσπερ γαρ ει τις εκ τω καθεστηκοτος κοσμω το Φως εξελοιτο, δυσχερης και χαλεπος αἰων ὁ λειπομενος ἡμιν βιος· ὁτω τωνδε ανδρων αναιρεθεντων, εν σκοτει και πολλη δυσκλεια πας ὁ πρωτος ζηλος των Ἑλληνων γεγονε. p. 155. "For as if light were taken from the world, the remaining life of mortals would be involved in difficulties and miſery; ſo by the death of thoſe warriors, the original glory of Greece was buried in darkneſs and ignominy." Of this diſcourſe, which Libanius deems to be genuine, many paſſages are corrupt, and many interpolated. The general debility of the whole may be explained by the obſervation in the text, without having recourſe to the defence of Wolfius: "Orationem Libanius Demoſthenis eſſe negat ut vilem & imbecillem omnino Quod quis miretur, cum & argumentum ſit imbecille?" Demoſthen. edit. Wolf. p. 152.

[111] Hic dies univerſæ Græciæ, et gloriam dominationis, et vetuſtiſſimam libertatem finivit. Juſtin. l. ix. c. iii. Demoſthenes, Diodorus Strabo, and Pauſanias, all expreſs the ſame ſentiment, and nearly in the ſame words.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Liberal Spirit of the Macedonian Government.— Philip appointed General of the Greeks.—Rebellion of Illyria. — Aſſaſſination of Philip. — His Character. — Acceſſion of Alexander. — His Expedition againſt the Illyrians and Triballi. — He paſſes the Danube. — Rebellion in Greece. — Deſtruction of Thebes. — Heroiſm of Timoclea. — Alexander croſſes the Helleſpont. — State of the Perſian Empire. — Battle of the Granicus. — Siege of Miletus and Halicarnaſſus. — Bold Adventure of two Macedonian Soldiers. — Alexander's judicious Plan of War. — Arts by which he ſecured his Conqueſts. — The battle of Iſſus. — The Virtues of Alexander expand with his Proſperity.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Liberal ſpirit of the Macedonian government.

THE Greeks acknowledged, with reluctance and ſorrow, that by the deciſive victory of Chæronæa, Philip became maſter of their country [1]. But we ſhould form a very erroneous notion of the Macedonian government, if we compared

[1] Demoſth. Æſchin. Diodor. Plutarch. Arrian, paſſim. I ſhall cite only the words of Strabo: "Χαιρωνεια δε ὁπου Φιλιππος ὁ Αμυντα μεγαλως νικησας Αθηναιους τε και Βοιωτους και Κορινθιους, κατιζη της Ελλαδος κυριος. "And Chæronæa, where Philip, the ſon of Amyntas, having conquered the Athenians, Bœotians, and Corinthians, in a great battle rendered himſelf maſter of Greece." Strab. Geograph. l. ix. p. 414.

CHAP. XXXVII.

it with the despotism of the East, or the absolute dominion of many European monarchs. The authority of Philip, even in his hereditary realm, was modelled on that admirable system of power and liberty, which distinguished and ennobled the *policies* of the heroic ages [1]. He administered the religion, decided the differences, and commanded the valour, of soldiers and freemen [2]. Personal merit entitled him to hold the sceptre, which, being derived from Jove, could not long be swayed by unworthy hands. The superiority of his abilities, the vigilant and impartial justice of his administration, formed the main pillars of his prerogative; since, according to the principles and feelings of the Macedonians, he who infringed the rights of his subjects [3], ceased from that moment to be a king.

Nature and extent of Philip's authority in Greece.

Having effected the conquest of Greece, the prudence of Philip could not be supposed ambitious of introducing into that country more severe maxims of government than those which prevailed

[1] When Alexander, intoxicated with prosperity, claimed too exalted honours, he was told by Callisthenes the philosopher, "Οἱ προγονοί ἐξ Ἀργοῦς εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἦλθον, οὐδὲ βίᾳ ἀλλὰ νόμῳ Μακεδόνων ἄρχοντες διατέλεσαν. Your ancestors came from Argos to Macedon, and continued there, governing the Macedonians, not by force, but by law." Arrian. Exped. Alexand. p. 87.

[2] In capital cases, says Curtius, the soldiers judged in time of war, the citizens in time of peace. He then adds, "Nihil protestas regum valebat, nisi prius valuisset auctoritas;" scilicet populi. Curtius, l. x. c. 8. Conf. l. viii. c. 6.

[3] A very mean subject literally told Philip, "If you refuse to do me justice, cease to be a king." Plut. Apopth. Conf. Arist. politic. l. v. c. 10. Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. & xliv.

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CHAP. XXXVII.

in Macedon. He affected, on the contrary, to preserve inviolate the ancient forms of the republican constitution, and determined to govern the Greeks by the same policy with which he had subdued them. While Macedonian garrisons kept possession of Thermopylæ and the other strong holds of Greece, the faithful and active partisans of Philip controuled the resolutions, and directed the measures, of each particular republic. The superintendence of the sacred games, as well as of the Delphic temple, rendered him the only visible head of the national religion: in consequence of the double right of presiding and voting in the Amphictyonic council, he appeared in the character of supreme civil magistrate of Greece; and his illustrious victory at Chæronæa over the only communities that opposed his greatness, pointed him out as the general best entitled to conduct the military force of Greece and Macedon in the long-projected invasion of Persia; an office which, as he might have assumed it without blame, he therefore solicited with applause from the impartial suffrages of the people.

Philip named general of the Greeks. Olymp. cx. 4. A. C. 337.

That this condescension must have been highly flattering to the vanity of the Greeks, appears from the transactions at Corinth, where Philip, the year following the battle of Chæronæa, had assembled a general convention of the Amphictyonic states[6]. In this assembly, Dius of Ephesus represented, with affecting energy, the vexations and

[5] Diodor. l. xvi. p. 556. Των Ελληνων ἑλομενων αυτον στρατηγον &c.
[6] Diodor. l. xvi. p. 556.

oppression

CHAP. XXXVII.

oppreſſion which the feeble colonies of Aſia daily experienced from the rapacious cruelty of the Perſian ſatraps. The general voice of the aſſembly re-echoed his complaint, while each member recollected, with indignation, the continual outrages of a people who had anciently invaded their country, inſulted their religion, burned their temples, and, not ſatisfied with theſe acts of vengeance, had reduced and oppreſſed their colonies, and uninterruptedly excited and nouriſhed thoſe cruel animoſities which had long filled every part of Greece with ſedition and blood[7]. Philip had private wrongs to urge againſt the Perſians, whoſe hatred and jealouſy had, on ſeveral occaſions, thwarted his meaſures and diſturbed his government. Yet he inſiſted chiefly on their public injuries and notorious enmity to the whole Grecian name, the honour of which could only be redeemed by a ſucceſsful expedition into Aſia.

Amount of their forces.

This expedition was determined with univerſal conſent. Philip was appointed general of the confederacy; and (although the Lacedæmonians ſullenly abſented themſelves from the convention) when the ſeveral ſtates came to aſcertain the contingent of troops which they could reſpectively raiſe, the whole, excluſive of the Macedonians, amounted to two hundred and twenty thouſand foot, and fifteen thouſand horſe[8]; a prodigious force, of which the domeſtic diſſenſions of the Greeks had hitherto, perhaps, prevented them

[7] Iſocrat. Orat. ad Philip.

[8] Juſtin. l. ix. c. v.

from

CHAP. XXXVII.

from forming an adequate notion. On no former occaſion had the ſeveral republics appeared ſo thoroughly united in one common cauſe; never had they ſhewn themſelves ſo ſenſible of their combined ſtrength; never had they teſtified ſuch general alacrity to take the field, or ſuch unlimited confidence in the abilities of their commander.

The expedition retarded by a rebellion in Illyria, and domeſtic diſſenſions in Macedon. Olymp. cxi. 1. A.C. 336.

It belongs to the biographers of the King of Macedon, to examine the circumſtances of the bloody tranſaction which clouded this glorious proſpect. In the general hiſtory of Greece, it is ſufficient to mention, that Philip, having diſpatched Parmenio with a body of troops to protect the Aſiatic colonies, was prevented from immediately following that commander by an inſurrection of the Illyrian tribes[9]. This unſeaſonable diverſion from the greateſt enterpriſe of his reign, was rendered more formidable by the domeſtic diſcord which ſhook the palace of Philip. A ſpirit leſs proud and jealous than that of Olympias, mother of Alexander, might have been juſtly provoked by the continual infidelities of her huſband, who, whether at home or abroad, in peace or in war, never ceaſed to augment the number of his wives or concubines[10]. The generous mind of Alexander muſt naturally have eſpouſed the cauſe of his mother, although his own intereſt had not been deeply concerned in preventing Philip from continually giving him ſo many new rivals to the throne. The young prince defended the rights of Olympias

[9] Diodor. ad Olymp. [10] Athenæus, l. xiii. p. 558.

and

CHAP. XXXVII.

and his own, with the impetuoſity natural to his character: at the nuptials of Philip with Caſſandra, niece to Attalus, one of his generals and favourites, an open rupture broke out between the imperious father and his more haughty ſon [11]; and the latter concluding all thoſe to be his own friends who were enemies to the former, fought refuge among the rebellious Illyrians, who were already in arms againſt their ſovereign.

Philip extricates himſelf from theſe difficulties. Olymp. cxi. 1. A.C. 336.

The dexterity of Philip extricated him from theſe difficulties. Having conquered the Illyrians, he ſoftened Alexander by aſſuring him that his illuſtrious merit, which was alike admired in Greece and Macedon, had not eſcaped the anxious vigilance of a parent, who, by giving him many rivals to the throne, had only given him an opportunity of ſurpaſſing them all in glory and in the merited affections of the Macedonians [12]. Soothed by this condeſcenſion, Olympias and her ſon again appeared at court with the diſtinction due to their rank: and, to announce and confirm this happy reconcilement with his family, Philip married his beloved daughter Cleopatra to the King of Epirus, maternal uncle of Alexander; and celebrated the nuptials by a magnificent feſtival which laſted ſeveral days, during which the Greeks and Macedonians vied with each other in ſhewing their obſequious reſpect towards their common general and maſter.

Is aſſaſſinated in going to the theatre.

Amidſt the tumultuous amuſements of the feſtivity, Philip often appeared in public with unguarded

[11] Plut. in Alexander. [12] Plut. Apophth.

guarded confidence in the fidelity and attachment of all his ſubjects: but proceeding one day from the palace to the theatre, he was ſtabbed to the heart by Pauſanias [13], a Macedonian; whether the aſſaſſin was ſtimulated merely by private reſentment, or prompted by the ill-appeaſed rage of Olympias, or inſtigated to commit this enormity by the Perſian ſatraps; which laſt is aſſerted by Alexander [14], who alleged the aſſaſſination of his father among his reaſons for invading the Perſian empire. CHAP. XXXVII.

Thus fell Philip of Macedon, in the forty-ſeventh year of his age and twenty-fourth of his reign; the firſt prince whoſe life and actions hiſtory hath deſcribed with ſuch regular accuracy, and circumſtantial fulneſs, as render his adminiſtration a matter of inſtruction to ſucceeding ages. With a reach of foreſight and ſagacity peculiar to himſelf, he united all the prominent features of the Grecian character; valour, eloquence, addreſs, flexibility to vary his conduct without changing his purpoſe, the moſt extraordinary powers of application and perſeverance, of cool combination and ardent execution. Intercepted in the middle of his career by the hand of an aſſaſſin, he was prevented from undertaking the juſteſt and nobleſt deſign of his reign; a deſign which he had long meditated, and in which his near proſpect of ſucceſs promiſed to reward the labours and dangers of his toilſome life. Had not he fallen unexpectedly Character.

[13] Diodor. & Juſtin. ubi ſupra.

[14] Arrian. l. ii. c. 14. & Curtius, l. [illegible]

by

CHAP. XXXVII.

by a premature fate, there is good reaſon to believe that he might have ſubdued the Perſian empire; an enterpriſe more dazzling, but leſs difficult, than the exploits which he had already atchieved. Had that event taken place, the arduous undertakings of his long and ſucceſsful reign would have been ennobled and illuminated by the ſplendour of extenſive foreign conqueſt; Philip would have reached the height of ſuch renown as is obtained by the habits of activity, vigilance, and fortitude in the purſuit of unbounded greatneſs; and, in the opinion of poſterity, would perhaps have ſurpaſſed the glory of all kings and conquerors, who either preceded or followed him. Yet, even on this ſuppoſition, there is not any man of ſenſe and probity, who, if he allows himſelf time for ſerious reflection, would purchaſe the imagined grandeur and proſperity of the King of Macedon, at the price of his artifices and crimes; and to a philoſopher, who conſidered either the means by which he had obtained his triumphs, or the probable conſequences of his dominion over Greece and Aſia, the buſy ambition of this mighty conqueror would appear but a deceitful ſcene of ſplendid miſery.

Difficulties attending the acceſſion of Alexander to the Macedonian throne.

A prince who is his own miniſter, and almoſt the ſole depoſitory of his own ſecrets, commonly leaves an arduous taſk for the labours of his ſucceſſor. This difficulty preſented itſelf to Alexander; but it was not the only circumſtance that rendered his ſituation difficult. The regular order of

CHAP. XXXVII.

Olymp. cxi. 1. A. C. 336.

of ſucceſſion had never been clearly eſtabliſhed in Macedon, and was in ſome meaſure incompatible with the ſpirit of royal government, which, as then generally underſtood, required ſuch qualities and accompliſhments in the firſt magiſtrate, as could not be expected from a promiſcuous line of hereditary princes. The numerous wives of Philip had, however, been moſt fruitful in female offspring. Nor had Alexander much to apprehend from the rivalſhip of his brothers, ſince Ptolemy, born of Arſinoë, and afterwards King of Egypt, was reputed to be the ſon of Lagus, to whom Philip had married Arſinoë, while ſhe was with child by himſelf; and Aridæus, the ſon of Philina, who, for ſix years after the death of Alexander, held a pageant royalty in the Eaſt through the glory of his brother's name, and the diſcordant ambition of his lieutenants, poſſeſſed not vigour of mind eagerly to diſpute the ſucceſſion. But Alexander's title was conteſted by Amyntas, ſon to Perdiccas, the elder brother of Philip, in whoſe name the laſt-mentioned prince originally adminiſtered the government, till the tender age of Amyntas being rejected by the Macedonians, Philip ſo little feared the revival of his pretenſions to the throne, that he had given him his daughter Cyna in marriage. This new advantage ſtrengthened the claim of Amyntas, which, it was probable, would be warmly ſupported by Attalus, a bold and enterprifing commander, the perſonal enemy of Olympias and her ſon, of whom the former had recently put to death his kinſwoman

CHAP. XXXVII.

woman Cleopatra, with ſhocking circumſtances of cruelty. Alexander privately took meaſures with his friends for cruſhing theſe dangerous enemies [15]; and, being acknowledged King of Macedon, haſtened into Greece, to reap the fruits of his father's labours, which might be loſt by delay.

He is acknowledged general of the Greeks in an aſſembly of the ſtates at Corinth.

In his journey thither, he experienced the perfidious inconſtancy of the Theſſalians, whom he chaſtiſed with proper ſeverity; and having aſſembled the deputies of the ſtates at Corinth, he was inveſted with the ſame honours [16] which had been conferred on his predeceſſor. During his reſidence in that city there happened an incident which more clearly diſplays the character of Alexander, than can be done by the moſt elaborate deſcription. Curioſity led him to viſit Diogenes the cynic, whoſe ſingular manners and mode of life have been mentioned on a former occaſion. He found him baſking in the ſun [17], and, having made himſelf known as the maſter of Macedon and Greece, aſked the philoſopher what he could do to oblige him? "Stand from between me and the ſun," was the anſwer of the cynic: upon which the King obſerved to his attendants, "that he would chooſe to be Diogenes [18] if he were not Alexander." The obſervation was natural and ſublime; ſince, under the moſt diſſimilar veils of external circumſtances and purſuits, their characters concealed a real reſemblance. Both poſ-

His character diſplayed in converſation with Diogenes the cynic.

[15] Diodorus, l. xvii. 2, & ſeqq. & Juſtin. xi. 1, & ſeqq.
[16] Idem, ibid. [17] Pauſan. l. ii. p. 88.
[18] Laertius in Vit. Diogen.

ſeſſed

CHAP. XXXVII.

ſeſſed that proud erect ſpirit which diſdains authority, ſpurns controul, and aſpires to domineer over fortune. But, by diminiſhing the number of his wants, Diogenes found, in his tub, that independence of mind, which Alexander, by the unbounded gratification of his deſires, could not attain on the imperial throne of Perſia.

His expedition againſt the Illyrians and Triballi. Olymp. cxi. 2. A.C. 335.

Alexander, having returned to Macedon, prepared for his eaſtern expedition by diffuſing the terror of his name among the northern Barbarians. The Illyrians and Triballi, mindful of the injuries of Philip, had haſtily taken arms to oppoſe, ere it became too late, the youth and inexperience of his ſon. But the diſcernment of the young prince readily perceived the danger of leaving ſuch formidable enemies on his frontier. With a well-appointed army he marched from Amphipolis, and, leaving the city Philippi and Mount Orbelus on the left, arrived in ten days at the principal paſs of Mount Hæmus, which led into the territory of the Triballi. There he found a new, and not leſs formidable enemy. The independent tribes of Thrace, having embraced the cauſe of the Triballi, had ſeized an eminence commanding the paſs; and, inſtead of a breaſtwork, had fortified themſelves with their carriages or waggons, which they purpoſed to roll down on the Macedonians. To elude the force of this unuſual battery, Alexander commanded ſuch of his troops as could not conveniently open their ranks, and allow free iſſue to the intended violence, to fall flat on the ground, and carefully cloſe their ſhields, that the deſcending

He defeats the independent tribes of Thrace.

CHAP. XXXVII.

waggons might, harmleſs, bound over them. In conſequence of this contrivance, the hoſtile artillery was exhauſted in vain. Alexander then attacked the Thracians with admirable order and celerity. Fifteen hundred fell; their ſwiftneſs and knowledge of the country ſaved the greater number. The priſoners, women, and booty, were ſent for ſale to the maritime cities on the Euxine [19].

The Triballi take refuge in Peucé.

Alexander having committed this ſubordinate buſineſs to Lyſanias and Philotas, paſſed the mountains, and purſued the Triballi. By galling them with his bowmen and ſlingers, he gradually forced them from their faſtneſſes, and defeated a powerful body of their warriors encamped on the woody banks of the Lyginus, diſtant three days march from the Danube. The remainder of the nation, conducted by the valour of their chieftain Syrmus, and reinforced by a numerous band of Thracians, took refuge in Peucé, an iſland in the Danube, defended by abrupt and rugged banks, ſurrounded by deep and foaming ſtreams. Alexander, though he had juſt received ſome ſhips of war from Byzantium, judged it too hazardous to aſſault the iſland; and the hoſtile appearance of the Getæ on the northern bank, furniſhed him with an honourable pretence for declining the ſiege of Peucé. On the margin of the Danube, that audacious people had drawn up four thouſand horſe, and above ten thouſand foot, ſhowing, by their countenance and demeanour, a determined reſolution to oppoſe the landing of an enemy. Provoked by thoſe ſigns of

Alexander paſſes the Danube;

[19] Arrian. Alexand. Expedit. l. i. p. 2, & ſeqq.

defiance,

CHAP. XXXVII.

defiance, and animated by the glory of paſſing the greateſt of all European rivers, and that which was ſurrounded with the greateſt and moſt warlike nations, Alexander filled the hides uſed in encampment with ſtraw and other buoyant materials, and collected all the boats employed by the natives of thoſe parts in fiſhing, commerce, or piracy. Amidſt the darkneſs of the enſuing night, he thus tranſported fifteen hundred cavalry, and four thouſand infantry, to that part of the oppoſite bank which was covered with high and thick corn. At the dawn of day, he commanded his foot to march through thoſe rich fields [20] with tranſverſed ſpears; while the infantry remained concealed in the corn, the cavalry followed them; but as ſoon as the former emerged into the naked plain, the horſe advanced to the front, and both ſuddenly preſenting an irreſiſtible object of terror, the Getæ abandoned their poſt, and fled to their city, which was four miles diſtant. There, they at firſt purpoſed to make a vigorous defence; but perceiving that Alexander cautiouſly ſkirted the river, to avoid the danger of an ambuſh, reflecting on his aſtoniſhing boldneſs in paſſing, without a bridge, the Danube in one night, and beholding the impenetrable firmneſs of his phalanx, and the reſiſtleſs impetuoſity of his cavalry [21], they regarded farther oppoſition as

[20] Πλαγιαις ταις σαρισσαις επικλινοντες τον σιτον. The ſpears were tranſverſed, not only for the purpoſe of concealment, "but to make a road through the corn."

[21] Φοβερα δε της φαλαγγος ἡ ξυνκλασις, δεινα δε ἡ των ἱππεων εμβολη, Arrian, p. 4. Alexander knew the proper uſe of cavalry, which was ſo

CHAP. XXXVII.

as vain, forſook their habitations, and retired precipitately, with their wives and children, into the northern deſert [22].

The Macedonians entered, and ſacked the town. The ſpoil was entruſted to Philip and Meleager; Alexander, mindful of ſo many favours, returned ſacrifices of thanks to Jupiter, Hercules, and the god of the Danube; and, encamping on the northern bank of the river, received very ſubmiſſive embaſſies from the ſurrounding nations. Even Syrmus, the intrepid leader of the Triballi, ſent propitiatory preſents, and readily obtained pardon from a prince, who could admire virtue in a Barbarian and an enemy [23].

receives the ſubmiſſion of the neighbouring nations.

Neceſſity alone compelled Alexander to carry his arms into thoſe inhoſpitable regions. Animated by an ambition to ſubdue the Aſiatic plains, he turned with contempt from bleak heaths and barren mountains, not deigning to chaſtiſe the boaſtful arrogance of the Celtæ. The Boii and Senones, Celtic or German tribes (for thoſe nations were often confounded by the Greeks), ſent ambaſſadors to Alexander, who, obſerving their lofty ſtature and haughty ſpirit, endeavoured to humble them by aſking, "what, of all things, they moſt feared?" not doubting, they would

ſo little underſtood in the laſt century, that the three ranks fired ſucceſſively before the charge; each, after firing, paſſing, by a carocol, behind the reſt. Guſtavus Adolphus allowed only his firſt rank to fire: which was doubtleſs a great improvement, and paved the way for reducing the ſervice of cavalry to its true principle, what Arrian calls "ἡ βιαια εμβολη.

[22] Arrian, l.i. p. 3, & ſeqq. [23] Idem, ibid.

anſwer,

CHAP. XXXVII.

anſwer, "yourſelf;" but they replied, "the fall of heaven." The King declared them his friends and allies, but whiſpered to thoſe around him, "the Celtæ are an arrogant people[24]." Could we admit the truth of this narrative, and believe that ambaſſadors were really ſent to Alexander by the nations inhabiting the northern receſſes of the Ionian gulph, it would be intereſting to obſerve the early character and firſt proceedings of a people, who were deſtined to ſubdue the conquerors of the Macedonian empire.

Alexander reduces the Taulantii, and other Illyrian tribes.

In his return towards Pella, Alexander marched through the friendly country of the Pæonians, where he received the unpleaſant intelligence that the Illyrian tribes were in arms, headed by Clitus, ſon of Bardyllis, the hereditary foe of Macedon. Glaucias, King of the Taulantii, prepared to join the arms of Clitus; the Autariadæ, likewiſe an Illyrian nation, had determined to obſtruct the march of Alexander. Amidſt theſe difficulties, he was encouraged by Langarus, chief of the Agrians, a warlike tribe inhabiting the ridges of Mount Ilæmus. Even in the lifetime of Philip, Langarus[25] had diſcerned the ſuperior merit of his ſon, with whom he had early entered into a confidential correſpondence. Conducted by the activity of Langarus, the Agrian targeteers, who thenceforth had an important ſhare in all the Macedonian victories, invaded the country of the Autariadæ. Their ravages were equally rapid and deſtructive; the Au-

[24] Arrian, l. i. p. 5, & Strabo, l. vii. p. 208 & 209.

[25] Λαγγαρος . . . και Φιλιππῳ ζωντι ασπαζομενος, Αλεξανδρον δηλον ην, και ιδια επρεσβευσε παρ' αυτον. Arrian, p. 5.

CHAP. XXXVII.

tariadæ, broken by domeſtic calamity, or alarmed by perſonal danger, abandoned the deſign of co-operating with the enemies of Alexander. That prince thus advanced without oppoſition to Pellion, the principal ſtrong-hold of the Illyrians. His army encamped on the banks of the Eordaicus. The enemy were poſted on the adjacent mountains, and concealed among thick woods, purpoſing to attack the Macedonians by a ſudden and united aſſault. But their courage failed them in the moment of execution. Not daring to wait the approach of the phalanx, they precipitately retreated to their city, leaving behind them the horrid veſtiges of their bloody ſuperſtition, three boys, three maids, and as many black rams, which, having juſt ſacrificed, they wanted time to remove [26].

Meanwhile Glaucias, King of the Taulantii, approached with a great force [27] to relieve Pellion, and aſſiſt his ally. Alexander had diſpatched Philotas to forage at the head of a ſtrong body of cavalry. Glaucias attempted to intercept and cut off this detachment. Alexander, leaving part of his army to awe Pellion, marched to the aſſiſtance of Philotas; Clitus reinforced Glaucias; a deciſive action thus ſeemed inevitable, if the thickneſs of lofty foreſts, and the intricacies of winding mountains, had afforded a proper ſcene for a general engagement. The Barbarians excelled in knowledge of the country; the Macedonians in

[26] Arrian, p. 5.

[27] Μετα πολλης δυναμεως. Idem, p. 6. Neither Thrace nor Illyria were remarkably populous in thoſe days; but as every man was a ſoldier, the princes of thoſe countries often brought numerous armies into the field.

ſkill

CHAP. XXXVII.

ſkill and courage. The war was widely diffuſed, and ably ſupported. But the diſcipline of Alexander finally prevailed. By ſurpriſe, by ſtratagem, by the terror of his military engines, which deſtroyed at a diſtance, and by ſuch prompt and ſkilful manœuvres [28] as had never been before ſeen, on the banks of the Apſus [29] and Erigonè, he totally diſperſed this immenſe cloud of Barbarians. Many were ſlain, and many made captive; a remnant, having burnt their city, which they deſpaired of ability to defend, ſought refuge among the Taulantian mountains [30].

Rebellion in Greece. Olymp. cxi. 2. A. C. 335.

Meanwhile a report circulated in Greece, that Alexander had periſhed in Illyria; and as men's belief is often guided by their intereſt [31], this vague rumour was greedily embraced by the partiſans of Grecian independence. The Athenian demagogues reſumed their uſual boldneſs; the Lacedæmonians already fancied themſelves heading the revolt [32]; but the firſt acts of rebellion were committed by the Thebans, who, having ſecretly recalled their exiles, treacherouſly [33] murdered Amyn-

[28] Thoſe are laboriouſly deſcribed by Arrian, p. 6, who, it muſt be acknowledged, appears ſometimes too fond of diſplaying his ſkill in tactics.

[29] Otherwiſe called the Eordaicus.

[30] Arrian, p. 7.

[31] Ου γινωσκοντες τα ονται, τα μαλιστα καθ' ήδονην σφισιν ηκαζον. "Not knowing the truth, hope regulated their conjectures." Idem, p. 8.

[32] The Lacedæmonians, ſays Arrian, were γνωμαις αφεστηκοτες, "revolted in their minds."

[33] They ſeized them without the garriſon, ουδεν υποτοπησαντας πολεμιον, "ſuſpecting no hoſtility."

CHAP. XXXVII.

tas and Timolaus, commanders of the Cadmæa, and prepared to expel the Macedonian garrison from that fortress.

Destruction of Thebes, Olymp. cxi. 2. A.C. 335.

Alexander, when apprised of these proceedings, relinquished the pursuit of the Barbarians, descended by rapid marches along the western frontier of Macedon, traversed Thessaly, entered Bœotia, and in the space of fourteen days after hearing the first news of the rebellion, besieged and demolished Thebes. The decisive boldness of this measure has been highly extolled by historians, because nothing could have a more direct tendency to quash the seditious spirit of the Greeks, than the rapid punishment of Thebes, which at once filled the neighbouring cities with pity and with terror. A spectacle of that dreadful kind was necessary, it has been said, to secure the future tranquillity of Greece and Macedon, and to enable Alexander to undertake his Persian expedition, without the danger of obstruction from rebellions in Europe [34]. But, notwithstanding this

[34] Plut. Diodor. Justin. Among the moderns, Mably sur les Grêcs, and the learned author of the Examen des Historiens d'Alexandre, who says, p. 46, "Alexandre devoit assurer sa domination dans la Grêce par quelque coup d'eclat, avant que de passer en Asie; la revolte de Thebes lui presenta une occasion favorable à ses vues." Yet Arrian, whose narrative was copied from the relation of eye-witnesses, expresses, thrice in the same page, the reluctance of Alexander to attack the Thebans. Εκδιδους ετι τοις Θηβαιοις τριβην, ει μεταγνοντες επι τοις κακως εγνωσμενοις, πρεσβευσαιντο παρ' αυτον. And again, Ετι γαρ τοις Θηβαιοις δια φιλιας ελθειν μαλλον τι η δια κινδυνου ηθελε. And still to the same purpose, Αλεξανδρος δε ουδε ως τη πολει προσεβαλεν Arrian, p. 8.

sagacious

CHAP. XXXVII.

ſagacious reflection, it appears that the deſtruction of Thebes was the effect, not of policy, but of obſtinacy and accident. In approaching that unfortunate city, Alexander repeatedly halted, to allow the inſurgents time to repent of their raſhneſs. The wiſer part of the Thebans propoſed to embrace the opportunity of ſending ambaſſadors to crave his pardon. But the exiles and authors of the ſedition encouraged the multitude to perſevere; and, inſtead of ſhewing remorſe for their paſt crimes, ſent forth their cavalry and light infantry, who aſſaulted and ſlew ſeveral of the Macedonian outguards [35].

The occaſion and circumſtances of that event.

Exaſperated by theſe inſults, Perdiccas, commander of an advanced party, attacked the Theban wall, without waiting the orders of Alexander. A breach was ſpeedily effected; the brigade of Perdiccas was followed by that of Amyntas, ſon of Andromenes; but both were ſo warmly received by the enemy, that Alexander ſaw the neceſſity of reinforcing them, leſt they ſhould be ſurrounded and cut off. The Thebans were then repelled in their turn; but ſoon rallying, beat back the aſſailants, and purſued them with diſordered ranks. Alexander then ſeized the deciſive moment for advancing with a cloſe phalanx. His aſſault was irreſiſtible. The Thebans fled amain; and ſuch was their trepidation, that having entered their gates, they neglected to ſhut them againſt the purſuers. The Macedonians, and their Greek auxiliaries, thus ruſhed tumultuouſly into the place.

[35] Arrian, p. 8 & ſeqq.

A dread-

CHAP. XXXVII.

Cruelty of the Greek auxiliaries.

A dreadful ſlaughter enſued. The Phocians, Orchomenians, and Platæans, rejoiced at gaining an opportunity to gratify their implacable reſentment againſt Thebes. The greater part of the citizens, exceeding thirty thouſand in number [36], were either put to the ſword or dragged into captivity. A feeble remnant eſcaped to Athens. The ancient city of Cadmus was raſed to the ground; but the citadel was ſtill garriſoned by Macedonian troops, and long maintained as a convenient poſt for overawing the adjacent territory.

A few acts of mercy owing to Alexander.

The ſeverities exerciſed againſt Thebes were reluctantly permitted by Alexander, at the inſtigation of his Grecian auxiliaries [37]. The few acts of forbearance or mercy, which appeared in this lamentable tranſaction, flowed from the humanity of his own nature. By his particular orders, the houſe and family of Pindar were ſaved from the general deſolation. He commanded likewiſe, that the ſacred families ſhould be ſpared, as well as thoſe connected with Macedon by the ties of hoſpitality; and, as he is the only great conqueror who built many more towns than he deſtroyed, he took care that the demolition of Thebes ſhould be immediately followed by the reſtoration of Orchomenus and Platæa. Even the gloomieſt events of his reign were diſtinguiſhed by ſome flaſhes of light,

[36] According to the loweſt computation, Thebes at that time contained above thirty thouſand citizens. Comp. Diodor. Plut. ibid. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. l. xiii. c. vii. Agatharchid. apud Phot. Bibl. 1337.

[37] Diodor. l. xvii. p. 569.

that

CHAP. XXXVII.

that diſplayed his magnanimity. It happened in the ſack of Thebes, that a band of fierce Thracians broke into the houſe of Timoclea, an illuſtrious Theban matron, the ornament of her ſex. The ſoldiers plundered her houſe; their brutal commander violated her perſon. Having gratified his luſt, he was next ſtimulated by avarice, and demanded her gold and ſilver. She conducted him to a garden, and ſhewed him a well, into which ſhe pretended to have thrown her moſt valuable treaſure. With blind avidity, he ſtooped to graſp it, while the woman being behind, puſhed him headlong into the ciſtern, and covered him with ſtones. Timoclea was ſeized by the ſoldiers, and carried in chains to Alexander. Her firm gait, and intrepid aſpect, commanded the attention of the conqueror. Having learned her crime, Alexander aſked her, "Who ſhe was, that could venture to commit ſo bold a deed?" — "I am," replied ſhe, "the ſiſter of Theagenes, who fell at Chæronæa, fighting againſt Philip in defence of Grecian freedom." Alexander admired both her action and her anſwer, and deſired her to depart free with her children [18]. While Alexander returned towards Macedon, he received many congratulatory embaſſies from the Greeks. Thoſe affected moſt friendſhip in their ſpeeches, who had moſt enmity in their hearts. The Athenians ſent to deprecate his wrath againſt themſelves, and to excuſe their compaſſionate treatment of the Theban fugitives. Alexander demanded the perſons of Demoſthenes,

Heroiſm of Timoclea.

Alexander receives the congratulatory embaſſies of the Greeks.

[18] Plut. de Vit. Alexand. p. 7.

Lycur-

CHAP. XXXVII.

Lycurgus, Hyperides, and five other orators, to whoſe inflammatory ſpeeches he aſcribed the ſeditious ſpirit that had recently prevailed in Athens. An aſſembly was immediately ſummoned to deliberate on this demand; and a decree unanimouſly paſſed for trying the orators accuſed by Alexander, and for inflicting on them ſuch puniſhment as their offences ſhould appear to merit. This pretended forwardneſs in the Athenians to avenge his quarrel, was highly agreeable to Alexander. The artful decree, which was immediately tranſmitted to him, became ſtill more acceptable through the bearer Demades, an avowed friend to Macedon, whom the party of Demoſthenes bribed with five talents to undertake this uſeful ſervice [39]. Amidſt the various embaſſies to the King, the Spartans alone preſerved a ſullen, or magnanimous ſilence. Alexander treated them with real, or well-affected contempt; and, without deigning to require their aſſiſtance, prepared for the boldeſt and nobleſt enterpriſe ever undertaken by the Grecian confederacy.

Tranſactions in Macedon, previous to Alexander's expedition to the Eaſt. Olymp. cxi. 1. A.C. 334.

The arrival of the army in Macedon was celebrated with all the pomp of an elegant ſuperſtition. A faithful image of the Olympic ſolemnity was exhibited in the ancient city of Ægæ. Continual games and ſacrifices were performed in Dium, during the ſpace of nine days, in honour of the

[39] The circumſtances of this tranſaction are differently related by all the authors who mention it. Compare Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 498. Æſchin. in Cteſiphont. Plut. in Vit. Alexand. & Arrian, l. i. p. 11. In military affairs Arrian's authority ſtands unrivalled; but Æſchines, a contemporary orator, muſt have been better informed concerning the civil tranſactions of the Athenians.

Muſes,

CHAP. XXXVII.

Muſes. Alexander entertained at his table the ambaſſadors of the Grecian ſtates, together with the principal officers of his army, whether Greeks or Macedonians. In the interval of public repreſentations, he diſcourſed with his confidential friends concerning the important expedition which chiefly occupied his thoughts. Parmenio and Antipater, the moſt reſpected of his father's counſellors, exhorted him not to march into the Eaſt, until by marriage, and the birth of a ſon, he had provided a ſucceſſor to the monarchy. But the ardent patriotiſm of Alexander diſdained every perſonal conſideration. He remembered that he was elected general of the Greeks, and that he commanded the invincible troops of his father [40].

Alexander croſſes the Helleſpont with his army. Olymp. cxi. 3. A. C. 334.

Having entruſted to Antipater the affairs of Greece and Macedon, and committed to that general an army of above twenty thouſand men [41], to maintain domeſtic tranquillity in thoſe countries, he departed early in the ſpring, at the head of above five thouſand horſe, and ſomewhat more than thirty thouſand infantry [42]. In twenty days march he arrived at Seſtos, on the Helleſpont. From thence the army was conveyed to Aſia, in an hundred and ſixty gallies, and probably a ſtill greater number of tranſports. The armament landed without oppoſition on the Aſiatic coaſt; the Perſians, though

[40] Diodor. l. xvii. p. 499.

[41] Diodorus, who enters into ſome detail on this ſubject, ſays, twelve thouſand infantry, and eleven thouſand five hundred cavalry.

[42] Arrian, p. 12.

long

CHAP. XXXVII.

long ago appriſed of the intended invaſion, having totally neglected the defence of their weſtern frontier.

State of the Perſian empire.

The cauſes of this negligence reſulted, in ſome degree perhaps, from the character of the prince, but ſtill more from that of the nation. Codomanus had been raiſed by aſſaſſinations and intrigues to the throne of Perſia, about the ſame time that Alexander ſucceeded his father Philip. The firſt year of his reign had been employed in ſtifling domeſtic rebellion, in ſecuring, and afterwards in diſplaying the fruits of victory. This prince aſſumed the appellation of Darius, but could not recal the principles or manners which diſtinguiſhed his countrymen, during the reign of the firſt monarch of that name. In the ſpace of about two hundred and thirty years, the Perſians had been continually degenerating from the virtues which characteriſe a poor and warlike nation, without acquiring any of thoſe arts and improvements, which uſually attend peace and opulence. Their empire, as extended by Darius Hyſtaſpis, ſtill embraced the moſt valuable portion of Aſia and Africa. The revenue paid in money was ſtill eſtimated, as during the reign of that monarch, at fourteen thouſand five hundred and ſixty Eubœic talents. Immenſe treaſures had been accumulated in Damaſcus, Arbela, Suſa, Perſepolis, Ecbatan, and other great cities of the empire. The revenue paid in kind cannot be appreciated; but ſuch was the extraordinary opulence of this great monarchy, that the conqueſts of Alexander are ſuppoſed to have given him an income of

CHAP. XXXVII.

ſixty millions ſterling[43]; a ſum which will admit of every allowance for exaggeration, and ſtill appear ſufficiently great.

Circumſtances which prepared it for deſtruction.

Although the extravagance and vices of Suſa, Babylon, and other imperial cities, correſponded to the extent and wealth of the monarchy, yet the Perſians were prepared for deſtruction rather by their ignorance of the arts of peace and war, than by their effeminacy and luxury. The provinces, moreover, had ceaſed to maintain any regular communication with the capital, or with each other. The ſtanding military force proved inſufficient to keep in awe the diſtant ſatraps or viceroys. The ties of a common religion or language, or the ſenſe of a public intereſt, had never united into one ſyſtem this diſcordant maſs of nations, which was ready to crumble into pieces at the touch of an invader. When, to theſe unfavourable circumſtances, we join the reflection that, under the younger Cyrus, twelve thouſand Greeks baffled the arms, and almoſt divided the empire of Perſia, our admiration will diminiſh for the magnanimity of Alexander in undertaking his eaſtern expedition; unleſs we are at the ſame time appriſed, that Darius was deemed a brave and generous prince, beloved by his Perſian ſubjects, and aſſiſted by the valour of fifty thouſand Greek mercenaries[44].

Deliberation of the Perſian ſatraps.

Having arrived in Aſia, Alexander, than whom none ever employed more ſucceſsfully the power of ſuperſtition[45], confirmed the confidence of his fol-

[43] Juſtin. xiii. 1.
[44] Arrian, Diodorus, and Curtius.
[45] Plut. Curtius, and Arrian, paſſim.

lowers

CHAP. XXXVII.

lowers by many auſpicious predictions and prodigies. While, with every military precaution, he purſued his march along the coaſt, Arſites, Spithridates, Memnon, and other governors of the maritime provinces, aſſembled for deliberation in the town of Zeleia, in Troas, diſtant ſixty miles from the Helleſpont. They had neglected to oppoſe the invaſion by their ſuperior fleet; they had allowed the enemy to encamp, unmoleſted, on their coaſts; fear now compelled them to reluctant union; but jealouſy made them reject the moſt reaſonable plan of defence.

Judicious advice of Memnon,

This was propoſed by Memnon the Rhodian, the ableſt general in the ſervice of Darius. He obſerved the danger of reſiſting the Macedonian infantry, who were ſuperior in number, and encouraged by the preſence of their King. That the invaders, fiery and impetuous, were now animated by hope, but would loſe courage on the firſt diſappointment. Deſtitute of magazines and reſources, their ſafety depended on ſudden victory. It was the intereſt of the Perſians, on the other hand, to protract the war, above all to avoid a general engagement. Without riſking the event of a battle, they had other and ſurer means to check the progreſs of the invaders. For this purpoſe, they ought to trample down the corn with their numerous cavalry, deſtroy all other fruits of the ground, and deſolate the whole country, without ſparing the towns and villages. Some rejected this advice, as unbecoming the dignity of Perſia[46]; Arſites, governor of Leſſer

rejected.

[46] Ἀνάξιον τῆς Περσῶν μεγαλοψυχίας, "Unworthy the magnanimity of Perſia." Diodor. p. 501.

Phrygia,

CHAP. XXXVII.

Phrygia, declared proudly, that he would never permit the property of *his* ſubjects to be ravaged with impunity. Theſe ſentiments the more eaſily prevailed, becauſe many ſuſpected the motives of Memnon. It was determined, therefore, by this council of princes, to aſſemble their reſpective forces with all poſſible expedition, and to encamp on the eaſtern bank of the Granicus, a river (midway between Zeleia and the Helleſpont) which iſſuing from Mount Ida, falls into the Propontis.

Alexander prepares to paſs the Granicus. Olymp. cxi. 3. A. C. 334.

The ſcouts of Alexander having brought him intelligence of the enemy's deſign, he immediately advanced to give them battle. The phalanx marched by its flank in a double line [47], the cavalry on the wings, the waggons and baggage in the rear. The advanced guard, conſiſting of horſemen armed with pikes, and five hundred light infantry, the whole commanded by Hegelochus, were detached to examine the fords of the Granicus, and to obſerve the diſpoſition of the enemy. They returned with great celerity, to acquaint Alexander, that the Perſians were advantageouſly poſted on the oppoſite bank, their horſe amounting to twenty thouſand, and their foreign mercenaries, drawn up on the ſlope of a riſing ground, behind the cavalry, ſcarcely leſs numerous. Notwithſtanding this alarming intelligence, the young

[47] The διπλη φαλαγξ is explained in this ſenſe by Ælian and Arrian. In ordinary caſes the phalanx marched by its flank, that is, with a front of ſixteen men. The διπλη φαλαγξ, therefore, contained a front of thirty-two men.

CHAP. XXXVII.

prince determined to paſs the river. Having advanced within ſight of the hoſtile ranks, his horſe ſpread to the right and left, the maſſy column of infantry opened, and the whole formed along the bank in order of battle. The phalanx, divided into eight ſections, compoſed the main body, which occupied the centre; the Macedonian cavalry formed the right wing; the Grecian, the left.

Rejects the cautious counſels of Parmenio.

While Alexander made theſe diſpoſitions, the cautious Parmenio approached, and remonſtrated againſt paſſing the Granicus in the face of an enemy. The river, he obſerved, was deep and full of eddies; its banks abrupt and craggy; "it would be impoſſible, therefore, to march the Macedonians in line, and if they advanced in columns, their flanks muſt be expoſed naked and defenceleſs. To try ſuch dangerous manœuvres ſeemed unneceſſary in the preſent juncture, becauſe the Barbarians would certainly quit their ſtation in the night, rather than remain encamped in the neighbourhood of ſo formidable an army." Theſe prudential conſiderations prevailed not with Alexander, who declared that in the firſt conflict, the Macedonians muſt act with equal promptitude and vigour, and perform ſomething worthy of the terror which they bore. Saying this, he ſprung on his horſe, aſſumed the command of the right wing, and committed the left to Parmenio.

Battle of the Granicus. Olymp. cxi. 3. A. C. 334.

Animated by the hope of ſoon cloſing with the enemy, he diſdained to employ his military engines. The baliſtas and catapults, by which, in a ſimilar ſituation, he had repelled the Taulantii,

were

were rejected as tedious or ineffectual. Alexander distributed his orders; a dreadful silence enfued; the hoſtile armies beheld each other with reſentment or terror. This ſolemn pauſe was interrupted by the Macedonian trumpet, which, on a ſignal given by Alexander, reſounded from every part of the line. His brother Ptolemy, as had been previouſly regulated, then rode forth at the head of a ſquadron of cuiraſſiers [48], followed by two bodies of light dragoons, and a battalion of infantry commanded by Amyntas. While theſe troops boldly entered the Granicus Alexander like wiſe advanced with the choſen cavalry on the right wing, followed by the archers and Agrians. In paſſing the river, both Alexander and Ptolemy led their troops obliquely down the current, to prevent as much as poſſible, the Perſians from attacking them in flank as they ſucceſſively reached the ſhore. The Perſian cavalry behaved with courage; the firſt ſquadrons of the Macedonians were driven back into the ſtream. But Alexander, who animated the *companions* [49] with his voice and arm, maintained his ground on the bank, and thought he had gained the battle, when he obtained an opportunity of fighting. In the equeſtrian combat which followed, the Macedonians owed much to their ſkil-

CHAP. XXXVII.

[48] I have uſed this word to expreſs thoſe troops which the Greeks called *Cataphracts*, from the completeneſs of their defenſive armour. Milton mentions them in Samſon Agoniſtes,

"Archers and ſlingers, Cataphracts and ſpears."

[49] The eight ſquadrons of choſen cavalry, which were of that kind called Cataphracts, were honoured with the name of Companions and friends of the King. Arrian & Diodor. paſſim.

CHAP. XXXVII.

ful evolutions and diſcipline [50]; ſtill more to their ſtrength and courage; and not a little to the excellence of their weapons, which being made of the cornel-tree [51], far ſurpaſſed the brittle javelins of the enemy.

Perſonal proweſs of Alexander and the Macedonian captains.

Meanwhile Parmenio croſſed the Granicus, at the head of the left wing, with equal ſucceſs, but unequal glory, becauſe Alexander had already proved, by his example, that the difficulty might be overcome, which would have otherwiſe appeared unſurmountable. The attention of the enemy was ſo deeply engaged by the ſucceſſive attacks of the cavalry, that they ſeem not to have made much oppoſition to the paſſage of the phalanx. But before this powerful body of infantry had croſſed the river, the Macedonian horſe had already reaped the faireſt honours of the field. Alexander animated them by his preſence, and, after diſcharging the duties of a great general, performed ſuch perſonal acts of proweſs as will be more readily admired than believed by the modern reader. But in the cloſe combats of antiquity, the forces, when once thoroughly engaged, might be ſafely abandoned to the direction of their own reſentment and courage, while the commanders diſplayed the peculiar accompliſhments to which they had been

[50] They derived great advantages, particularly from the light infantry intermixed with their ſquadrons. The targeteers and Agrians proved extremely uſeful in helping the Macedonians to keep off the Perſian cavalry, which, when too near, hindered them from the proper uſe of their lances.

[51] At Myrtus validis haſtilibus & bona bello
Cornus. VIRG. GEORG. II. v. 447.

trained

trained from their youth, in the more conſpicuous parts of the field. Alexander was eaſily diſtinguiſhed by the brightneſs of his armour, and the admirable alacrity of his attendants. The braveſt of the Perſian nobles impatiently waited his approach. He darted into the midſt of them, and fought till he broke his ſpear. Having demanded a new weapon from Aretes, his maſter of horſe, Aretes ſhewed him his own ſpear, which likewiſe was broken. Demaratus the Corinthian ſupplied the King with a weapon. Thus armed, he rode up, and aſſaulted Mithridates, ſon-in-law to Darius, who exulted before the hoſtile ranks. While Alexander beat him to the ground, he was himſelf ſtruck by Rœſaces with a hatchet. The firmneſs of his helmet ſaved his life. He pierced the breaſt of Rœſaces; but a new danger threatened him from the ſcimitar of Spithridates. The inſtrument of death already deſcended on his head, when Clitus cut off the arm of Spithridates, which fell with the graſped weapon. CHAP. XXXVII.

The heroiſm of Alexander animated the valour of the *companions*, and the enemy firſt fled where the King commanded in perſon. In the left wing, the Grecian cavalry muſt have behaved with diſtinguiſhed merit, ſince the Perſians had begun on every ſide to give way, before the Macedonian infantry had completely paſſed the river[52]. The ſtern The Perſians defeated.

[52] Guiſchardt, p. 208. ſays, "Auſſitôt que la phalange fut en état d'agir contre l'ennemie, avec tout ſon front heriſſé de piques, la victoire ceſſa d'être douteuſe." It appears not, however, that the phalanx

CHAP. XXXVII. ſtern aſpect of the phalanx, ſhining in ſteel and briſtling with ſpears, confirmed the victory. Above a thouſand Perſian horſe were ſlain in the purſuit. The foot, conſiſting chiefly in Greek mercenaries, ſtill continued in their firſt poſition, not firm but inactive, rapt in fixed wonder, not ſteady through reſolution. While the phalanx attacked them in front, the victorious cavalry aſſailed their flanks. Surrounded on all ſides, they fell an eaſy prey: two thouſand ſurrendered priſoners; the reſt all periſhed, unleſs a few ſtragglers perchance lurked among the ſlain.

Loſs on both ſides.

The battle of the Granicus proved fatal to moſt of the Perſian commanders. Arſites, the chief adviſer of the engagement, died in deſpair by his own hand. The generals Niphates and Petenes, Omares leader of the mercenaries, Spithridates ſatrap of Lydia, Mithrobuzanes governor of Cap-

lanx at all acted againſt the Perſian cavalry. The battle of Granicus was entirely an equeſtrian engagement, as had been propheſied to Alexander by his nameſake, a prieſt of Minerva in the Troade. See Diodor. l. xvii. p. 571.

[5] Εκπληξει μαλλον τι τȣ παραλογȣ, η λογισμȣ, βεβαινω. Arrian. It might be ſuſpected that the Greek mercenaries were not very hearty in the Perſian cauſe, and had delayed declaring themſelves till they beheld the iſſue of the equeſtrian engagement. This is conjectured by Guiſchardt in his admired Memoires Militaires, p. 208. But the fidelity of their countrymen to Darius on all ſubſequent occaſions, as well as the ſevere treatment which they met with in the preſent battle, ſeem ſufficient to remove that diſhonourable ſuſpicion. Their conduct, ſeemingly unaccountable, is aſcribed, by Arrian, to their aſtoniſhment, that Alexander's cavalry ſhould have paſſed the Granicus, and repelled the Perſian horſe, four times more numerous than his own.

padocia,

CHAP. XXXVII.

padocia, Mithridates ſon-in-law of Darius, and Arbupales ſon of Artaxerxes, were numbered among the ſlain. Such illuſtrious names might lead us to ſuſpect, that the Perſians were ſtill more numerous than Arrian [54] repreſents them: and, notwithſtanding the nature of ancient weapons and tactics, which rendered every battle a rout, and commonly prevented the retreat of the vanquiſhed, it is ſcarcely to be believed, that in ſuch an important engagement, Alexander ſhould have loſt only eighty-five horſemen, and thirty light infantry [55]. Of the former, twenty-five belonged to the royal band of Companions. By command of Alexander, their ſtatues in bronze were moulded by the art of his admired Lyſippus [56], and erected in the Macedonian city of Dium.

Humanity and prudence of Alexander.

This important victory enabled Alexander to diſplay both his humanity and his prudence. He declared the parents and children of the deceaſed thenceforth exempted from every ſpecies of tribute [57]. He carefully viſited the wounded, at-

[54] Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 572. makes them amount to one hundred and ten thouſand. Juſtin is quite extravagant. The Perſians, he ſays, were ſix hundred thouſand.

[55] Others diminiſhed the loſs to thirty-five horſemen and nine foot ſoldiers. Ariſtobul. apud Plut. in Vit. Alexand.

[56] Arrian ſays, ὁσπερ και Αλεξανδρου μονος προκριθεις εποιει. "Who was alone preferred to make the image of Alexander." This, doubtleſs, increaſed the honour conferred on the Companions. Arrian would have ſpoke more accurately, had he ſaid, "to caſt the figure of Alexander in bronze." Other artiſts repreſented him in marble, in gems, medals, &c. of which hereafter.

[57] Arrian diſtinguiſhes τῳ σωματι λειτουργιας; και κατα τας κτησεις; εισφοριας, perſonal ſervices, and contributions, in proportion to their property.

CHAP. XXXVII.

tentively aſked how each of them had received harm, and heard with patience and commendation their much-boaſted exploits. The Perſian commanders were interred; and the Greeks, both officers and ſoldiers. The Grecian captives were condemned to work in the Thracian mines, as a puniſhment for bearing arms againſt the cauſe of their country. But even this ſeverity Alexander ſoftened by a very ſeaſonable compliment to the Athenians, whoſe city he preferred to be the repoſitory of his trophies and renown. Immediately after the battle, he ſent three hundred ſuits of Perſian armour, as dedications to Minerva in the citadel. This magnificent preſent was inſcribed with the following words: "Gained by Alexander, ſon of Philip, and the Greeks (except the Lacedæmonians), from the Barbarians of Aſia." It is remarkable, that on this occaſion he omits mention of the Macedonians, whether becauſe he wiſhed them to be comprehended under the name of Greeks; or becauſe, in the Perſian war, he always affected rather to avenge the cauſe of Greece, than to gratify his own ambition; or, finally, that the Greeks being thus excluſively aſſociated to his honours, might thenceforth continue zealous in making new levies for his ſervice.

Immediate conſequence of the victory.

The battle of the Granicus opened to Alexander the conqueſt of Ionia, Caria, Phrygia; in a word, all the Aſiatic provinces weſt of the river Halys, which had anciently formed the powerful monarchy of the Lydians. Many of the walled towns ſurrendered at his approach. Sardes, the ſplendid capital

CHAP. XXXVII.

pital of Crœſus, opened its gates to a deliverer, and once more recovered its ancient laws and municipal government, after reluctantly enduring, above two centuries, the cruel yoke of Perſia. The Grecian cities on the coaſt were delivered from the burden of tribute and the oppreſſion of garriſons; and, under the auſpices of a prince, who admired their priſtine glory in arts and arms, reſumed the enjoyment of their hereditary freedom. During the Perſian expedition of Alexander, the Epheſians were ſtill employed in rebuilding their temple, which had been ſet on fire by Heroſtratus, twenty years before that period, and on the ſame night, it is ſaid, which gave birth to the deſtined conqueror of the Eaſt. Alexander encouraged their pious and honourable undertaking; and, in order to accelerate its progreſs, commanded the tribute which had been paid to the Perſians, to be appropriated to the temple of Diana [58].

Siege of Miletus and Halicarnaſſus.

Miletus and Halicarnaſſus alone retarded the progreſs of the conqueror. The latter place, commanded by Memnon the Rhodian, made a memorable defence. Alexander had ſcarcely ſat down before it, when the garriſon, conſiſting of Greeks and Perſians, ſallied forth, and maintained a deſperate conflict. Having repelled them with much difficulty, he undertook the laborious work of filling up a ditch thirty cubits broad, and fifteen deep, which the beſieged, with incredible diligence, had drawn round their wall. This being effected, he

[58] Comp. Arrian, p. 18. & Strab. p. 949.

advanced

CHAP. XXXVII.

advanced wooden towers, on which the Macedonians erected their battering engines, and prepared to aſſault the enemy on equal ground. But his labours were interrupted by a nocturnal ſally; a ſecond engagement was fought with ſtill greater fury than the firſt; three hundred Macedonians were wounded, darkneſs preventing their uſual precaution in guarding their bodies [50].

Bold adventure of two Macedonian ſoldiers.

A few days afterwards, Halicarnaſſus, which had ſo obſtinately reſiſted ſkill and courage, was on the point of yielding to raſhneſs and accident. The battalion of Perdiccas happened to be poſted on that ſide of the wall, which looked towards Miletus. Two ſoldiers, belonging to this corps, while they ſupped together in their tent, boaſted their military exploits; each, as uſual, preferring his own. Wine heated their emulation. They ruſhed forth to aſſault the wall of Halicarnaſſus, animated leſs with the mad hope of victory, than by an ambition to diſplay their reſpective proweſs. The centinels perceived their audacity, and prepared to repel them; but they killed the firſt men who approached, and threw javelins at others who advanced in ſucceſſion. Before their boldneſs was overwhelmed by numbers, many ſoldiers belonging to the ſame battalion haſtened to their relief. The Halicarnaſſians, alſo, reinforced their friends; a ſharp conflict enſued; the garriſon was repelled; the wall, attacked; two towers and the intervening curtain, thrown down; and had greater numbers

[50] Arrian, p. 20.

joined

joined in the aſſault, the town muſt have been taken by ſtorm [66]. CHAP. XXXVII.

The humanity of Alexander rendered him unwilling to come to that extremity. But the extraordinary ſucceſs of ſuch an unpremeditated enterpriſe, engaged him to ply the walls with new vigour. The defence was as obſtinate as before; two deſperate ſallies were made, and repelled with conſummate bravery, Alexander's tenderneſs for the Halicarnaſſians prevented him from entering the place with an enraged and licentious ſoldiery. He therefore recalled his troops in the moment of victory, hoping that the beſieged would finally ſurrender, and thus ſave their lives and properties. From the various breaches in the walls, and the numbers who had periſhed, or been wounded, in repeated conflicts, Memnon and his colleagues perceived, that much longer reſiſtance was impoſſible. In this emergency they diſplayed the ſame deciſive boldneſs which had appeared in every part of their defence. Having ſummoned the braveſt of their adherents, they, in the night-time, ſet fire to a wooden tower, which they had erected for defence againſt the ſhocks of the enemy's engines, and for protection to their arſenal and magazines, and eſcaped to two neighbouring caſtles of great ſtrength. About midnight, Alexander perceived the raging flames, and immediately ſent a detachment to puniſh thoſe who had excited, or who fomented, the conflagration; but with ſtrict

Halicarnaſſus taken and reluctantly demoliſhed. Olymp. cxi. 3. A.C. 334.

[66] Arrian, p. 22.

order

CHAP. XXXVII.

orders to ſpare ſuch of the townſmen as were found in their houſes. Next day, he examined the caſtles, and perceived that they could not be taken without much loſs of time or blood; but that, independently of the town, they were not in themſelves of any value; circumſtances which obliged him, reluctantly, to demoliſh Halicarnaſſus, that it might never thenceforth ſerve as a retreat to his enemies [a].

Alexander commits the government of Caria to Ada.

The inactive ſeaſon of the year was employed by Alexander in ſecuring and improving his advantages. The inferior cities were committed to the diſcretion of his lieutenants; the King in perſon viſited his more important conqueſts; and few places were honoured with his preſence without experiencing his bounty. Before leaving Caria, where the ſiege of Halicarnaſſus long detained his impatient activity, he committed the adminiſtration to Ada, the hereditary governeſs of that province. Ada was the ſiſter, and the wife of Hidrieus, on whoſe deceaſe ſhe was entitled to reign, both by the Carian laws and thoſe of Upper Aſia, where female ſucceſſion had been eſtabliſhed ever ſince the age of Semiramis. But the great King, with the uſual caprice of a deſpot, had rejected the juſt claim of Ada, and ſeated a pretender on her tributary throne. The injured princeſs, however, ſtill maintained poſſeſſion of the ſtrongly fortified city Alinda. When Alexander appeared in Caria, Ada haſtened to meet him, addreſſed him by the name of ſon, and voluntarily ſurrendered to

[a] Arrian, p. 23.

him

him Alinda. The King neither rejected her preſent, nor declined her friendſhip; and, as he always repaid favours with intereſt, he committed to her, at his departure, the government of the whole province, and left a body of three thouſand foot and two hundred horſe, to ſupport her authority. CHAP. XXXVII.

The meaſures of Alexander were equally deciſive and prudent. The Perſian fleet, ſupplied by Egypt, Phœnicia, and the maritime provinces of Lower Aſia, four times out-numbered his own, which, ſmall as it was, ſtill appeared too expenſive for his treaſury. Alexander determined to diſcharge it, declaring to his lieutenants, that, by conquering the land, he would render himſelf maſter of the ſea, ſince every harbour that ſurrendered to him muſt diminiſh the naval reſources of the enemy [62]. Agreeably to this judicious plan of conqueſt, he purſued his journey through the ſouthern provinces of the Aſiatic peninſula, while Parmenio traverſed the central countries of Lydia and Phrygia. At the ſame time Cleander was diſpatched into Greece to raiſe new levies; and ſuch ſoldiers as had married ſhortly before the expedition, were ſent home to winter with their wives; an indulgence which extremely endeared Alexander to the army, and enſured the utmoſt alacrity of his European ſubjects, in furniſhing ſupplies towards the enſuing campaign. His judicious plan of war.

[62] It will appear in the ſequel how faithfully Alexander adhered to this plan of war, which kept open his communication with Greece and Macedon, and enabled him to purſue, with ſecurity, his conqueſts in the Eaſt.

Accom-

CHAP. XXXVII.

The arts by which he ſecured his conqueſts.

Accompanied by ſuch winning arts, the valour and prudence of Alexander ſeemed worthy to govern the world. His conduct, perhaps, often proceeded from the immediate impulſe of ſentiment; but it could not have been more ſubſervient to his ambition, had it been invariably directed by the deepeſt policy. After the deciſive battle of the Granicus, he experienced little obſtinacy of reſiſtance from the numerous forts and garriſons in Lower Aſia. The tributary princes and ſatraps readily ſubmitted to a milder and more magnanimous maſter; and the Grecian colonies on the coaſt eagerly eſpouſed the intereſt of a prince who, on all occaſions, avowed his partiality for their favourite inſtitutions. In every province or city which he conquered, he reſtored to the Aſiatics their hereditary laws; to the Greeks, their beloved democracy. While he allowed them to aſſume the forms of independent government, he was careful to bridle the animoſity of domeſtic faction. Into whatever country he marched, he encouraged uſeful induſtry, and alleviated public burdens. His taſte and his piety alike prompted him to repair the ſacred and venerable remains of antiquity. He conſidered the Barbarians, not as ſlaves, but as ſubjects; the Greeks, not as ſubjects, but allies; and both perceived in his adminiſtration ſuch equity and lenity as they had never experienced either from the deſpotiſm of Perſia, or from the domineering ambition of Athens and Sparta [63].

[63] Compare Plut. in Alexand. Curtius & Arrian, paſſim; & Thucydid. Xenoph. Iſocrat. & Diodor.

having

CHAP. XXXVII.

Singular felicity of Alexander's march from Phaſelis to Perga.

Having received the ſubmiſſion of Xanthus, Patara, Phaſelis, and above thirty other towns or ſea-ports in Lycia, Alexander, probably for the ſake of greater expedition, divided the corps under his immediate command. A conſiderable detachment traverſed the Lycian and Pamphilian mountains, while the King in perſon, purſued the ſtill more dangerous track, leading along the ſea-coaſt from Phaſelis to Perga. On this foaming ſhore, the ſea commonly beats againſt the rocks, and renders the paſſage impracticable, unleſs when the waves are repelled by a ſtrong north wind. When Alexander began his march, the wind blew from the ſouth. Yet he advanced fearleſs, confiding in his fortune. His troops cheerfully followed him, encouraged by many artful prodigies[1] which announced ſucceſs to his undertaking. The event which next happened, was well fitted to ſtrengthen their credulity, and confirm their implicit obedience. Before they had reached the main difficulties of the paſs, the ſouth wind gra-

[1] While Alexander deliberated whether he ſhould march forwards to attack Darius, a meaſure which promiſed glory and plunder to his troops, or proceed along the ſea-coaſt, and reduce the maritime cities, which would prevent the enemy from profiting of his abſence in Upper Aſia, to conquer Greece or Macedon with their fleet, a fountain near the city Xanthus in Lycia boiled up, and threw out a copper-plate, engraved with ancient characters, ſignifying that the time was come when the Perſian empire ſhould be overthrown by the Greeks. Plutarch adds, τουτοις επαρθεις, ἡγειτο την παραλιαν διακαθηραι. "Encouraged by this prodigy, he haſtened to ſubdue the coaſt." It would perhaps have been more worthy of an hiſtorian to ſay, "Encouraged by this prodigy, the Greeks and Macedonians readily obeyed the commands of their prudent, not leſs than valiant general."

CHAP. XXXVII.

dually ceaſed; a briſk gale ſprang up from the north; the ſea retired; and their march thus became alike eaſy and expeditious. The authentic evidence of Arrian explains the marvellous in this occurrence, which Joſephus inconſiderately compares with the paſſage of the Iſraelites over the Red Sea. Yet even the philoſophical Arrian acknowledges, that the many concurring inſtances of good fortune in the life of Alexander, ſeemed to be produced by the immediate interpoſition of divine power, which, in effecting an important revolution in the Eaſtern world, rendered the operations of nature, and the volitions of men, ſubſervient to the ſecret purpoſes of its providence.

In proceding eaſtward from Perga, Alexander was met by ambaſſadors from Aſpendus, the principal city and ſea-port of Pamphylia. The Aſpendians offered to ſurrender their city, but entreated, that they might not be burdened with a garriſon. Alexander granted their requeſt, on condition of their raiſing fifty talents to pay his ſoldiers, and delivering to him the horſes which they reared as a tribute for Darius. The ambaſſadors accepted theſe terms; but their countrymen, who were diſtinguiſhed by their ambition and rapacity, ſtill more than by their commerce and their wealth, diſcovered no inclination to fulfil them. Alexander was informed of their treachery, while he examined the walls of Syllius, another ſtrong-hold of Pamphylia. He immediately marched towards Aſpendus,

dus, the greater part of which was ſituate on a high and ſteep rock, waſhed by the river Eurymedon. Several ſtreets, however, were likewiſe built on the plain, ſurrounded only by a ſlight wall. At the approach of Alexander, the inhabitants of the lower part of the town aſcended the mountain. Alexander entered the place, and encamped within the walls. The Aſpendians, alarmed by the apprehenſion of a ſiege, intreated him to accept the former conditions. He commanded them to deliver the horſes, as agreed on; to pay, inſtead of fifty, an hundred talents; and to ſurrender their principal citizens as ſecurities, that they would thenceforth obey the governor ſet over them; pay an annual tribute to Macedon; and ſubmit to arbitration a diſpute concerning ſome lands which they were accuſed of having unjuſtly wreſted from their neighbours [65].

CHAP. XXXVII.

He puniſhes the treachery of Aſpendus.

Having chaſtiſed the inſolence and treachery of Aſpendus, Alexander determined to march into Phrygia, that he might join forces with Parmenio, whom he had commanded to meet him in that country. The new levies from Greece and Macedon were likewiſe ordered to aſſemble in the ſame province; from which it was intended, early in the ſpring, to proceed eaſtward, and atchieve ſtill more important conqueſts. To reach the ſouthern frontier of Phrygia, Alexander was under the neceſſity of traverſing the inhoſpitable mountains of the warlike Piſidians. Amidſt thoſe rocks and faſtneſſes, the Macedonians

Alexander enters Phrygia. Olymp. cxi. 4. A. C. 333.

[65] Arrian, p. 26.

CHAP. XXXVII.

loſt ſeveral brave men; but the undiſciplined fury, and unarmed courage, of the Piſidians, was unable to check the progreſs of Alexander. The city of Gordium in Phrygia, was appointed for the general rendezvous. This place is diſtant about ſeventy-five miles from the Euxine, and two hundred and forty from the Cilician ſea; and was famous, in remote antiquity, as the principal reſidence of the Phrygian kings, and the chief ſeat of their opulence and grandeur [66]. Alexander had not long arrived in that place, when a deſire ſeized him of aſcending to the ancient caſtle or palace of Gordius, and of beholding the famous knot on his chariot, which was believed to involve the fate of Aſia. Gordius, as the ſtory went, was a man of ſlender fortune among the ancient Phrygians, who had but a ſmall piece of land, and two yokes of oxen, one of which he employed in the plough, and the other in the waggon. It happened to Gordius, while he was one day ploughing, that an eagle alighted on his yoke, and ſat on it till evening. Alarmed by the prodigy, Gordius had recourſe to the Telmeſſians, a people inhabiting the loftieſt mountains [67] in Piſidia, and celebrated over all the neighbouring countries for their ſkill in augury. At the firſt village of the Telmeſſians, he met a virgin drawing water at a fountain, to whom having communicated his errand, ſhe ordered him to aſcend the

His adventure at Gordium.

[66] See vol. i. c. vii. p. 290.

[67] Arrian, p. 27. calls it υπερυψηλοι, και παντη αποτομοι. "Exceedingly high and every where abrupt." But in Gordius's time, at leaſt, the Telmeſſians muſt have poſſeſſed ſome villages on the plain. See Arrian, p. 30.

hill,

hill, and there ſacrifice to Jupiter. Gordius intreated her to accompany him, that the ſacrifice might be performed in due form. She obeyed. Gordius took her to wife. She bore him a ſon, Midas, who, when he arrived at manhood, was diſtinguiſhed by his beauty and valour. It ſhould ſeem that the father of Midas had, in conſequence of his marriage, ſettled among the Telmeſſians, with whoſe arts his ſon would naturally become acquainted. The Phrygians, at that time, were haraſſed by cruel ſeditions; they conſulted an oracle, who told them, that a chariot ſhould ſoon bring them a King, who would appeaſe their tumults. While the aſſembly ſtill deliberated on the anſwer given them by the oracle, Midas arrived in his chariot [68], accompanied by his parents. The appearance of Midas juſtified the prediction, and announced him worthy of royalty. The Phrygians elected him King; their ſeditions ceaſed; and Midas, in gratitude to Jupiter, conſecrated his father's chariot, and ſuſpended it by a cord made of the inner rind of the cornel-tree, the knot of which was ſo nicely tied, that no eye could perceive where it began or ended. Whether Alexander untied, or cut the knot, is left uncertain by hiſtorians [69]; but all agree that his followers retired with

[68] The Greek word ἅμαξα expreſſes either a chariot or a waggon. Perhaps neither the name, nor the thing were then diſtinguiſhed in Phrygia. Curtius tells us this ἅμαξα was "cultu haud ſane a vilioribus vulgatiſque uſu abhorrens," l. ii. c. i. p. 10.

[69] Curtius, l. iii. c. i. ſays, he cut it with his ſword. Plutarch ſays he untied it. Vit. Alexand. p. 1236. Arrian gives both accounts; and

CHAP. XXXVII.

with complete conviction that he had fulfilled the oracle. A ſeaſonable ſtorm of thunder confirmed their credulity [70]; and the belief, that their maſter was deſtined to be lord of Aſia, could not fail to facilitate that event.

Treachery of Alexander, the ſon of Æropus.

The rapid progreſs of Alexander, and his continual exertions during that ſeaſon of the year when armies are little accuſtomed to keep the field, tends to heighten our ſurpriſe at the inactivity of Darius, an ambitious prince, who had ſignaliſed his valour againſt the fierceſt nations of Aſia. But Darius, corrupted by the honours of royalty, employed very different weapons againſt Alexander, from thoſe by which the champion of Ochus had defeated the warlike chief of the Carduſians [71]. Inſtead of oppoſing the invader in the field, he hoped to deſtroy him by the arm of an aſſaſſin. Many traitors were ſuborned for this infamous purpoſe, but none with greater proſpect of ſucceſs than Alexander, the ſon of Æropus. This man owed his life to the clemency of the ſon of Philip, when his brothers Heromenes and Arrabæus were condemned as acceſſary to the murder of that prince. He was numbered among the companions of Alexander, and had recently been entruſted with the command of the Theſſalian cavalry, after the

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and the latter on the authority of Ariſtobulus, which is therefore the more probable.

[70] Arrian, p. 31.

[71] Darius killed a warrior of that nation who challenged the braveſt of the Perſians to ſingle combat. This exploit gained him the government of Armenia, and made him be afterwards deemed worthy of the Perſian throne. Diodor. l. xvii. p. 565.

nomina-

nomination of Calas, who held that high office, to the government of Phrygia. The promiſe of ten thouſand talents, and of the kingdom of Macedon, obliterated his gratitude and ſeduced his allegiance. But his treaſon eſcaped not the vigilance of Parmenio [72], who communicated the intelligence to his maſter, while encamped in the neighbourhood of Phaſelis. By the ſame faithful miniſter, the unworthy ſon of Æropus was ſeized, and committed to ſafe cuſtody.

The army of Darius marches from Upper Aſia.

Darius, without deſiſting from his intrigues, finally had recourſe to arms. His troops were aſſembled in the plains of Babylon. They conſiſted of an hundred thouſand Perſians, of whom thirty thouſand were cavalry. The Medes ſupplied almoſt half that number, and the Armenians almoſt as many as the Medes. The Barcani, the Hyrcanians, the inhabitants of the Caſpian ſhores, and nations more obſcure or more remote, ſent their due proportion of cavalry and infantry for this immenſe army, which, including thirty thouſand Greek mercenaries in the Perſian ſervice, is ſaid

[72] According to Arrian, p. 25. a ſwallow ſhared the honour with Parmenio. While Alexander was aſleep at mid-day, the ſwallow hovered around his head, perching ſometimes on one ſide of his couch, and ſometimes on another. Its inceſſant chattering roufed the King from ſleep: but being exceedingly fatigued, he gently removed the bird with his hand. Inſtead of endeavouring to eſcape, the ſwallow perched on his head, and ceaſed not being extremely noiſy and troubleſome, till he throroughly awoke. The prodigy was immediately communicated to Ariſtander the Telmeſſian ſoothſayer, who declared that a conſpiracy was formed againſt the King by one of his domeſtics and friends; but that it would certainly be diſcovered, becauſe the ſwallow is a domeſtic bird, a friend to man, and exceedingly loquacious.

CHAP. XXXVII.

to have amounted to ſix hundred thouſand men. The magnificence of the Perſians had not diminiſhed ſince the days of Xerxes; neither had their military knowledge increaſed. Their muſter was taken by the ſame contrivance employed by that monarch [73]. Ten thouſand men were ſeparated from the reſt, formed into a compact body, and ſurrounded by a paliſade. The whole army, paſſing ſucceſſively into this incloſure, were rather meaſured than numbered, by their generals. Nothing could exceed the ſplendour that ſurrounded Darius; the trappings of his horſes, the rich materials and nice adjuſtment of his chariot, the profuſion of jewels which covered his royal mantle, veſt, and tiara. The dreſs, and even the armour of his guards, were adorned with gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones. He was attended by his family, his treaſures, and his concubines, all eſcorted by numerous bands of horſe and foot. His courtiers and generals copied, as uſual, too faithfully, the effeminate manners of their maſter [74].

Alexander paſſes the northern Gate of Cilicia.

While this pageant, for it deſerves not the name of army, ſlowly advanced towards Lower Aſia, Alexander left Gordium, and marched to Ancyra, a city in that part of Phrygia afterwards called Galatia. In that place, he received an embaſſy from the Paphlagonians, who ſurrendered to him the ſovereignty of their province, but intreated that his army might not enter their borders.

[73] See vol. i. c. ix. p. 419, & ſeqq.

[74] Propinquorum, amicorumque, conjuges, huic agmini proximæ. Q. Curtius, l. iii. c. 3. & Diodor. l. xvi. p. 580.

He

He granted their requeſt, and commanded them to obey Calas, ſatrap of Phrygia. Alexander then marched victorious through Cappadocia; and Sabictas being appointed to the adminiſtration of that extenſive province, the army encamped at the diſtance of ſix miles from the Cilician frontier, at a place which, ſince the memorable expedition performed and deſcribed by Xenophon, retained the name of Cyrus's Camp. Towards the ſouth, the rich plain of Cilicia is waſhed by the ſea, and ſurrounded on three ſides by lofty and almoſt impervious mountains. Arſames, governor of that country, had ſent a body of troops to guard a poſt called the Gates, and the only paſs which leads from Cappadocia into Cilicia. Appriſed of this meaſure, Alexander left Parmenio and the heavy-armed troops in the camp of Cyrus. At the firſt watch of the night, he led the targeteers, archers, and Agrians, to ſurpriſe the Perſian forces ſtationed at the northern Gate of Cilicia. The Barbarians fled on his approach; and the puſillanimous Arſames, to whom the whole province was entruſted by Darius, prepared to plunder, and then abandon, his own capital of Tarſus. But he had only time to ſave his perſon. The rapidity of Alexander prevented the deſtruction of that city, where the inhabitants received him as their deliverer. CHAP. XXXVII.

Falls ſick at Tarſus.

At Tarſus, Alexander was detained by a malady occaſioned by exceſſive fatigue; or, as others ſay, by imprudently bathing, when heated, in the cold waters of the Cydnus, which flows through that

CHAP. XXXVII.

city, in a clear and rocky channel [75]. Philip, the Acarnanian, was the only perſon who deſpaired not of his life. While this ſkilful phyſician adminiſtered a draught to his royal patient, a letter came from Parmenio, warning Alexander to beware of Philip, who had been bribed by Darius to poiſon him. Alexander took the potion, and gave Philip the letter; ſo that the phyſician read, while the King drank; a tranſaction which proved either his contempt of death, or his unſhaken confidence in his friends; but, which, by the admiration of his contemporaries and poſterity [76], has been conſtrued into a proof of both.

Alexander marches to Mallos.

The ſickneſs of Alexander interrupted not the operations of the army. Parmenio was diſpatched to ſeize the only paſs on Mount Amanus, which divides Cilicia from Syria. The King ſoon followed, having in one day's march reached Anchialos, an ancient city of vaſt extent, and ſurrounded with walls of prodigious thickneſs. The greateſt curioſity of Anchialos was the tomb of Sardanapalus, diſtinguiſhed by the ſtatue of that effeminate tyrant, in the attitude of clapping his hands; and by an Aſſyrian inſcription, breathing the true ſpirit of *modern* Epicuriſm. The original ran in verſe to the following purpoſe: "Sardanapalus, ſon of

[75] Curtius gives another reaſon for its exceſſive coldneſs: "Frigidiſſimus quippe nulla riparum amœnitate inumbratus," l. iii. c. iv. From his laboured deſcription of this river, it ſeems as if he imagined *that* water muſt have poſſeſſed very extraordinary qualities, which could do harm to Alexander.

[76] See Arrian, p. 32. Curtius, l. iii. c. 5.

Ana-

CHAP. XXXVII.

Anacyndaraxas, built Anchialos and Tarſus in one day. As to you, ſtranger! eat, drink, and ſport [77], for other human things are not worth *this*," alluding to the clap of his hands [78].

Having arrived at Malles, an Argive colony at the eaſtern extremity of Cilicia, Alexander learned that Darius lay with his army in the extenſive plain of Sochos, in the province of Comagene, diſtant only two days march from the Cilician frontier. The hoſtile armies were ſeparated by the mountains which divide Cilicia and Syria. Alexander haſtened to paſs the ſtraits called the Syrian Gates, proceeded ſouthwards along the bay of Iſſus, and encamped before the city Mariandrus. At this place he received a very extraordinary piece of intelligence. His delay in Cilicia, which had been occaſioned by ſickneſs, and by the many pious ceremonies [79] with which he gratefully thanked Heaven for his recovery, was aſcribed to very different motives by Darius and his flatterers. That perfidious race, the eternal bane of kings [80], eaſily per-

Alexander paſſes the Syrian ſtraits; and Darius, in an oppoſite direction, the defiles of Amanus.

[77] The word tranſlated "ſport," is παιζε in Arrian, p. 32. But that author ſays, the Aſſyrian original had a more laſcivious meaning. Plut. Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand. tranſlates it αφροδισιαζε, "veneri indulge."

[78] Mr. de Guignes, ſo deſervedly celebrated for his Oriental learning, proves this inſcription to be entirely conformable to the ſtyle and manners of the Eaſt. See Mem. de l'Acad. des Inſcrip. tom. xxxiv. p. 416, & ſeqq.

[79] Proceſſions with lighted torches, ſacrifices to Æſculapius, gymnaſtic and muſical conteſts. Arrian, l. ii. p. 33.

[80] Arrian expreſſes this ſentiment with more than his uſual energy: Των κατα ηδονην ζυνοντων τε και ξυνεσομενων ετι καλως τοις αιει βασιλευσι.

ſuaded

CHAP. XXXVII.

fuaded the vain credulity of their maſter, that Alexander ſhunned his approach. The proud reſentment of Darius was exaſperated by the imagined fears of his adverſary: with the impatience of a deſpot he longed to come to action; and not ſuſpecting that Alexander would traverſe the Syrian Gates in ſearch of the enemy, he haſtily determined to paſs, in an oppoſite direction[81], the ſtraits of Amanus, in queſt of Alexander. This fatal meaſure was carried into immediate execution, notwithſtanding the ſtrong repreſentations of Amyntas[82] the Macedonian, and of all Darius's Grecian counſellors[83], who unanimouſly exhorted him to wait the enemy in his preſent advantageous poſition. In the language of antiquity[84], an irreſiſtible fate, which had determined that the Greeks ſhould conquer the Perſians, as the Perſians had conquered the Medes, and the Medes the Aſſyrians, impelled Darius to his ruin. Having paſſed the defiles of Amanus, he directed his march ſouthward to the bay of Iſſus, and took the city of that name, which contained, under a feeble guard, the ſick and wounded Macedonians, who had not been able to follow the army in its expeditious march acroſs the

[81] Theſe movements are explained only by Arrian. Diodorus, Plutarch, and Curtius, not attending to the geography of the country, are inconſiſtent and unintelligible.

[82] Amyntas, though an exile, was not a flatterer. He aſſured Darius, that Alexander would certainly come to any place where the Perſians encamped. Arrian, p. 34.

[83] Ariſtomenes the Pheræan, Bianor the Acarnanian, Thymondas the ſon of Mentor, the Rhodian, and others mentioned by Arrian, paſſim.

[84] Arrian, Plut. Diodor. Curt.

moun-

mountains. The Perſians put thoſe unhappy men to death, with ſhocking circumſtances of cruelty [85], little thinking that Alexander was now behind, prepared to avenge their fate.

Circumſtance, which encouraged the Macedonian army.

That enlightened prince who could ſcarcely believe the folly of Darius, ſent a ſmall flat-bottomed veſſel to reconnoitre his motions. This veſſel ſpeedily returned to Alexander, and ſaluted him with the agreeable news that his enemies were now in his hands. Having ſummoned an aſſembly, the King forgot none of thoſe topics of encouragement which the occaſion ſo naturally ſuggeſted, ſince the meaneſt Macedonian ſoldier could diſcern the injudicious movements of the Perſians, who had quitted a ſpacious plain, to entangle themſelves among intricate mountains, where their numerous cavalry, in which they chiefly excelled, could perform no eſſential ſervice. In preparing for this important conteſt, the ſpirits of the Macedonians were elevated by a recollection of many fortunate occurrences. Ptolemy, as they had recently learned, had made himſelf maſter of the ſtrong fortreſſes in Caria. The brave Memnon indeed had eſcaped; but that able commander, who, to pave the way for invading Macedon, had attacked the Grecian iſles with his fleet, was ſince dead; and his ſucceſſors in command, after irritating the iſlanders by their inſolence and oppreſſion, were defeated in all their deſigns by the vigilance of Antipater. The army of Alexander had lately increaſed, by many

[85] Χαλεπως αικισαμενος αποκτεινε, Arrian, p. 34. It is remarkable, that he aſcribes this barbarity to Darius himſelf.

voluntary

CHAP. XXXVII.

tary acceſſions of the Aſiatics, who admired his courage, mildneſs, and uninterrupted good fortune; and the ſoldiers, who the preceding year had been ſent to winter in Europe, had not only rejoined the camp, but brought with them numerous levies from Greece, Macedon, and all the adjoining countries. By men thus diſpoſed to indulge the moſt ſanguine hopes, the military harangue of their prince was received with a joyous ardour. They embraced each other; they embraced their admired commander; and his countenance confirming their alacrity, they entreated to be led to battle [86].

Diſpoſition of both parties.

Alexander commanded them firſt to refreſh their bodies; but immediately diſpatched ſome horſe and archers to clear the road to Iſſus. In the evening he followed with his whole army, and about midnight, took poſſeſſion of the Syrian ſtraits. The ſoldiers were then allowed a ſhort repoſe, ſufficient guards being poſted on the ſurrounding eminences. At dawn, the army was in motion, marching by its flank while the paſſage continued narrow; and new columns being ſucceſſively brought up, as the mountains gradually opened. Before reaching the river Pinarus, on the oppoſite bank of which the enemy were encamped, the Macedonians had formed in order of battle; Alexander leading the right wing, and the left being commanded by Parmenio. They continued to advance, till their right was flanked by a mountain, and their left by the ſea, from which Parmenio was ordered not to recede. Darius being appriſed of the enemy's ap-

[86] Arrian, p. 33—36.

proach,

proach, detached a body of fifty thouſand cavalry and light infantry acroſs the Pinarus, that the remainder might have room to form without confuſion. His Greek mercenaries, amounting to thirty thouſand, he poſted directly oppoſite to the Macedonian phalanx. The Greeks were flanked on both ſides by double that number of Barbarians, alſo heavy armed. The nature of the ground admitted not more troops to be ranged in front; but as the mountain on Alexander's left ſloped inwards, Darius placed on that ſinuoſity twenty-thouſand men, who could ſee the enemy's rear, though it appears not that they could approach or annoy it. Behind the firſt line the reſt of the Barbarians were ranged, according to their various nations, in cloſe and unſerviceable ranks; Darius being every where encumbered by the vaſtneſs of a machine, which he had not ſkill to wield [87]. CHAP. XXXVII.

His puſillanimity was more fatal than his ignorance. When he perceived the Macedonians advancing, he commanded his men to maintain their poſt on the Pinarus, the bank of which was in ſome places high and ſteep; where the acceſs ſeemed eaſier, he gave orders to raiſe a rampart; precautions which ſhewed the enemy, that even before the battle began, the mind of Darius was already conquered [88]. Alexander, meanwhile, rode along The battle of Iſſus. Olymp. cxi. 4. A. C. 333.

[87] Arrian. p. 36.

[88] Και παυτη ευθυς δηλος εγενετο τοις αμφι Αλεξανδρον τη γνωμη δεδουλωμενος. "And thence he immediately appeared to thoſe about Alexander to be already enſlaved in his mind." In thoſe times, ſlavery was the natural conſequence of being conquered in battle.

the

CHAP. XXXVII.

the ranks, exhorting, by name, not only the commanders of the ſeveral brigades, but the tribunes and inferior officers, and even ſuch captains of the auxiliaries as were diſtinguiſhed by rank, or ennobled by merit. Perceiving it neceſſary to moderate the martial ardour that prevailed, he commanded his forces to advance with a regular and ſlow ſtep, leſt the phalanx ſhould fluctuate through too eager a contention. Their motion quickened, as they proceeded within reach of the enemy's darts. Alexander, with thoſe around him, then ſprung into the river. Their impetuoſity frightened the Barbarians, who ſcarcely waited the firſt ſhock[8]. But the Greek mercenaries perceiving that by the rapidity and ſucceſs of Alexander's aſſault, the Macedonians were bent towards the right wing, which was ſeparated from the centre, ſeized the deciſive moment of ruſhing into the interval, where the phalanx was disjointed. A fierce engagement enſued, the Greeks eager to regain the honour of their name, the Macedonians ambitious to maintain the unſullied glory of the phalanx. This deſperate action proved fatal to Ptolemy the ſon of Seleucus, and other officers of diſtinction, to the number of an hundred and twenty. Meanwhile, the Macedonian right wing having repelled the enemy with great ſlaughter, wheeled to the left, and animated by recent victory, finally prevailed

[8] They did, however, wait it; for Arrian ſays, ευθυς γαρ ὡς εν χερσι μαχη εγενετο. The "μαχη εν χερσι εγενετο;" when the darts and javelins ceaſed, and the contending parties came to the uſe of manual, inſtead of miſſile, weapons.

 againſt

againſt the obſtinacy of the Greeks. A body of Perſian horſe ſtill maintained the battle againſt the Theſſalian cavalry, and did not quit the field, till informed that Darius had betaken himſelf to flight [90]. CHAP. XXXVII.

The overthrow of the Perſians was now manifeſt on all ſides. Their cavalry and infantry ſuffered equally in the rout; for their horſemen were heavy-armed, and encumbered by the narrowneſs of the roads, and their own terror. Ptolemy, the ſon of Lagus [91], ſays, that the purſuers filled up the ditches with dead bodies. The number of the ſlain was computed at an hundred and ten thouſand, among whom were many ſatraps and nobles. Route of the Perſians.

The Great King had diſcovered little obſtinacy in defending the important objects at ſtake. His left wing was no ſooner repelled by Alexander, than he drove away in his chariot, accompanied by his courtiers. When the road grew rough and mountainous, he continued his flight on horſeback, leaving his ſhield, his mantle, and his bow, which were found by the Macedonians. Alexander, who had received a troubleſome wound in the thigh [92], judged it improper to purſue him, till the Greek mercenaries were diſperſed; the approach of night facilitated Darius's eſcape. Escape of Darius.

[90] Arrian, l. ii. p. 36, & ſeqq. [91] Idem, ibid.

[92] Chares, cited by Plutarch, ſays, that Alexander received this wound from the hand of Darius; but the ſilence of Alexander's letter to Antipater, in which he gave an account of the battle, and of his wound on the thigh, refutes that improbable report.

The

CHAP. XXXVII.

The captives and booty.

The Perſian camp afforded abundant proof o Aſiatic luxury and opulence [93]. It contained, however, in money but three thouſand talents; the magnificent treaſures, which accompanied the Great King, being depoſited, previous to the battle, in the neighbouring city of Damaſcus. This rich booty was afterwards ſeized by order of Alexander, who found in the camp a booty more precious, the wife and daughters of Darius, his mother Syſigambis, and his infant ſon. In an age when priſoners of war were ſynonymous with ſlaves, Alexander behaved to his captives according to their reſpective ages, with filial duty or with parental tenderneſs [94]. In his chaſte attention to Statira, the faireſt beauty of the Eaſt, his conduct forms a remarkable contraſt with that of his admired Achilles, whom he equalled in valour, but far ſurpaſſed in humanity. Theſe illuſtrious princeſſes bore their own misfortunes with patience, but burſt into dreadful lamentations, when informed by an eunuch that he had ſeen the mantle of Darius in the hands of a Macedonian ſoldier. Alexander ſent to aſſure them that Darius yet lived; at

for

accompanied by

your affectiona

[93] Among other things of value in the tent of Darius, was found a caſket of exquiſite workmanſhip, adorned with jewels. It was employed to hold Darius's perfumes.—Alexander ſaid, "I uſe no perfumes, but ſhall put into it ſomething more precious." This was the Iliad of Homer, corrected by Ariſtotle, and often mentioned by ancient writers; ἡ ἐν τῷ κασκίδιον, "the Iliad of the caſket." Strabo, l. xiii. p. 88. Plut. in Alexand.

[94] Arrian iii. c. 22. Conf. Arrian l. iv. c. 20.

CHAP. XXXVII.

of his friends [94]. Syſigambis approached to proſtrate [95] herſelf before the conqueror, according to the cuſtom of the Eaſt; but not knowing the King, as their dreſs was alike, ſhe turned to Hepheſtion. Hepheſtion ſuddenly ſtepping back, Syſigambis ſaw her miſtake, and was covered with confuſion. "You miſtook not, madam," ſaid the King, "Hepheſtion is likewiſe Alexander [96]."

The virtues of Alexander long continued to expand with his proſperity; but he was never more inimitably great, than after the battle of Iſſus. The city of Soli, in Cilicia, though inhabited by a Grecian colony, had diſcovered uncommon zeal in the cauſe of Darius. To puniſh this unnatural apoſtacy from Greece, Alexander demanded a heavy contribution from Soli; but, after the victory, he remitted this fine. Impelled by the ſame generous magnanimity, he releaſed the Athenian captives taken at the battle of the Granicus; a favour which he had ſternly refuſed, in the dawn of his fortune. In Damaſcus, ſeveral Grecian ambaſſadors were found among the captives. Alexander ordered them to be brought into his preſence. Theſſaliſcus and Dionyſodorus, the Thebans, he inſtantly declared free, obſerving, that the misfortunes of their city juſtly entitled the Thebans to apply to Darius, and to every prince or individual

The virtues of Alexander expand with his proſperity.

[94] Alexander, with his uſual diſcernment, characteriſed the perſonal affection of Hepheſtion; "Craterus loves the prince; Hepheſtion loves Alexander." Plut. in Alexand.

[95] Προσελθειν και προσκυνησαι. Arrian, l. ii, p. 39.

[96] Curtius, l. iii. c. xii. Arrian, p. 39.

CHAP. XXXVII. likely to relieve them. Iphicrates, the Athenian, he treated with the reſpect which appeared due both to his country and to his father. Euthycles the Spartan, alone, he detained in ſafe cuſtody, becauſe Sparta fullenly rejected the friendſhip of Macedon. But as his clemency ſtill increaſed with his power [97], he afterwards releaſed Euthycles.

[97] Arrian, p. 42

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Siege of Tyre. — Desperate Resistance of Gaza. — Easy Conquest of Egypt. — Foundation of Alexandria. — Alexander visits the Temple of Jupiter Ammon. — Marches into Assyria. — Battle of Gaugamela. — Darius betrayed and slain. — Alexander pursues the Murderers of Darius. — Bactrian and Scythian War. — Siege of the Sogdian Fortress. — Surrender of Chorienes. — Commotions in Greece — Checked by Antipater. — The Cause of Ctesiphon and Demosthenes. — Æschines banished. — State of Greece during Alexander's Reign.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Alexander receives an embassy from Tyre. Olymp. cxi. 4. A. C. 333

IN his precipitate flight across the ridges of Amanus, Darius was gradually joined by about four thousand men, chiefly Greeks. Under this feeble escort, he departed hastily from Sochos, pursued his march eastward, and crossed the Euphrates at Thapsacus, eager to interpose that deep and rapid stream between himself and the conqueror [1]. Alexander's inclination to seize the person of his adversary could not divert him from the judicious plan of war to which he immoveably adhered. In a council of his friends, he declared his opinion, that it would be highly imprudent

[1] Ὡς ταχιστα μεσον αυτȣ τε και τȣ Αλεξανδρȣ τον Ευφρατην ποιησαι. Arrian, p. 40.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

to attempt the conquest of Babylon, until he had thoroughly subdued the maritime provinces; because, should he be carried with an unseasonable celerity into Upper Asia, while the enemy commanded the sea, the war might be removed to Europe, where the Lacedæmonians were open enemies, and the Athenians doubtful friends. Having appointed governors of Cilicia and Cœlo-Syria, he therefore directed his march southward along the Phœnician coast. Aradus, Marathus, and Sidon[2], readily opened their gates. The Tyrians sent a submissive embassy of their most illustrious citizens, among whom was the son of Azelmicus, their king, who had himself embarked with Autophradates in the Persian fleet. They humbly informed Alexander, that the community[3] from which they came, was prepared to obey his commands. Having complimented the city and the ambassadors, he desired them to acquaint their countrymen, that he intended shortly to enter Tyre, and to perform sacrifice there to Hercules[4].

[1] I omit the story of Abdelerminus, whom Alexander raised from the humble condition of a gardener, to the throne of Sidon. Vid. Curt. l. iv. c. i. Diodorus, l. xvii. relates the same story as happening in Tyre. Plutarch, de Fortun. Alexand. translates the scene to Paphos. Amidst such inconsistencies, the silence of Arrian seemed worthy of imitation.

[2] Arrian says, that these ambassadors were απο τῳ κοινῳ σταλμενοι. It should seem that the King of Tyre was a very limited prince, and the government rather republican than monarchical.

[4] The reader may recollect, that Philip [illegible] similar message to Atheas, King of the Scythians. Such pious [illegible] were often employed by antiquity to justify very unwarrantable transactions.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Description and state of Tyre.

Upon this alarming intelligence, the Tyrians discovered much firmness. A second embassy assured Alexander of their unalterable respect, but at the same time communicated to him their determined resolution, that neither the Persians nor the Macedonians should ever enter their walls. This message appears remarkable in a nation of merchants, long unaccustomed to war [5]. But the resources of their wealth and commerce seemed to have elevated the courage, instead of softening the character, of the Tyrians. Their city, which, in the language of the East, was styled the eldest daughter of Sidon [6], had long reigned queen of the sea. The *purple* shell-fish, which is found in great abundance on their coast [7], or rather their exclusive knowledge of the kermes, which affords a beautiful red colour, put them in possession of a most lucrative branch of trade, and confined chiefly to the Tyrians the advantage of clothing the princes and nobles in most civilized countries of antiquity [8]. Tyre was separated from the

[5] Old Tyre was built on the continent by the Sidonians, 1252 B. C. It was besieged by Salmanesar, 719 B. C.; and by Nebuchadnezer, 572 B. C. The latter took the place after a siege of thirteen years; but part of the inhabitants had previously fled with their effects to a neighbouring island, and founded the city described in the text. Vid. Joseph. Lxiii. cap. ii. l. ix. cap. xiv. & l. x. cap. xi.

[6] Isaiah, xxiii. 12.

[7] Strabo, l. vi. p. 522.

[8] Homer, Herodot. &c. passim. See likewise vol. i. p. 336. Mr. Bruce, in his Travels, treats the story of the purple shell-fish with contempt; and [illegible] the Phœnicians concealed under this disguise their knowledge of cochineal: had he said kermes, his supposition might be approved, as according well with the artful character of the Phœnicians.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

continent by a frith half a mile broad; its walls were an hundred feet [9] in height, and of proportionate ſolidity. The convenience of its ſituation, the capaciouſneſs of its harbours, and the induſtrious ingenuity of its inhabitants, rendered it the commercial capital of the world. Its magazines were plentifully provided with military and naval ſtores, and it was peopled by numerous and ſkilful artificers in ſtone, wood, and iron [10].

Alexander beſieges Tyre. Olymp. cxii. 1. A. C. 332.

Notwithſtanding the ſtrength of the city, Alexander determined to form the ſiege of Tyre; and the difficulty of an undertaking, which ſeemed neceſſary in itſelf, and eſſential to the ſucceſs of ſtill more important enterpriſes, only ſtimulated the activity of a prince, who knew that, on many emergencies, boldneſs is the greateſt prudence. The

Throws a mole acroſs the frith;

firſt operation which he directed, was to run a mole from the continent to the walls of Tyre, where the ſea was about three fathom deep. The neceſſity of this meaſure aroſe from the imperfection of the battering engines of antiquity, which had little power, except at ſmall diſtances. On the ſide of the continent, the work was carried on with great alacrity; but when the Macedonians approached the city, they were much incommoded by the depth of water, and exceedingly galled by every kind of miſſile weapon from the battlements. The Tyrians, likewiſe, having the command of the ſea, annoyed the workmen from their gallies, and re-

[9] Arrian ſays one hundred and fifty feet. The numbers probably are erroneous.

[10] Plutarch, Curtius, Arrian.

tarded

CHAP. XXXVIII.

tarded the completion of their labours. To reſiſt theſe aſſaults, Alexander erected, on the furtheſt projecture of the mole, two wooden towers, on which he placed his engines, and which he covered with leather and raw hides to reſiſt the ignited darts and fire-ſhips of the enemy. This contrivance, however, the ingenuity of his adverſaries ſoon rendered ineffectual. Having procured a huge hulk, they filled it with dry twigs, pitch, ſulphur, and other combuſtibles. Toward the prow, they raiſed two maſts, each of which was armed with a double yard, from whoſe extremities were ſuſpended vaſt caldrons, filled with whatever might add to the violence of the conflagration. Having prepared this uncommon inſtrument of deſtruction, they patiently waited a favourable wind. The hulk was then towed into the ſea by two gallies. As ſhe approached the mole, the rowers ſet her on fire, and eſcaped by ſwimming. The works of the Macedonians were ſoon thrown into a blaze. The enemy, ſailing forth in boats, prevented them from extinguiſhing the flames; and the labour of many weeks was thus in one day reduced to ruins [11].

which is deſtroyed by the Tyrians.

The perſeverance of Alexander was proof againſt ſuch accidents. He immediately commanded new engines to be made, and a new mole to be raiſed, ſtronger and broader than the preceding. The orders of a prince, who directed every operation in perſon, and whoſe bodily toils exceeded thoſe of the meaneſt ſoldier, were ſure of being heard with re-

Alexander raiſes a new mole.

[11] Arrian, p. 44, & ſeqq.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

ſpect and obeyed with alacrity. The ruins of old Tyre afforded abundance of ſtone; wood was brought from Anti-Libanus[12]; and it ſhould ſeem that a roving party of Arabs having diſturbed the Macedonian workmen, were repelled by Alexander, which gave riſe to the idle report of his Arabian conqueſt. By incredible exertions, the mole was at length built, and the battering engines were erected. The arrival of four thouſand Peloponneſian forces ſeaſonably reinforced Alexander, and revived the courage of his troops, exhauſted by fatigue and dejected by defeat. At the ſame time the fleets of the maritime provinces which he had ſubdued, came to offer their aſſiſtance in an undertaking, which could ſcarcely have proved ſucceſsful, while the Tyrians commanded the ſea. The ſquadrons of Lower Aſia were joined by the naval force of Rhodes and Cyprus. The whole armament of Alexander amounted to two hundred and twenty-four veſſels[13], ſo that the Tyrians, who hitherto confided

His military and naval reinforcements.

[12] Curtius confounds Anti-Libanus with Mount Libanus. It would be endleſs to notice his errors, exaggerations, and fictions in the account of this ſiege, which is one of the moſt romantic paſſages in his hiſtory. Curtius writes to the fancy, not to the judgment; and to readers of a certain taſte the pictureſque beauties of his ſtyle will atone for errors in matter of fact. He may be allowed to raiſe an imaginary ſtorm, who can deſcribe it like Curtius. "Tum inhorreſcens mare pauſatim levari, deinde acrioris venti concitatum, fluctus ciere, et inter ſe navigia collidere. Jamque ſcindi coeperant vincula, quibus connexæ quadriremes erant, ruere tabulata, & cum ingenti fragore in profundum ſecum nautas trahere." It is Alexander, whoſe actions he diſfigures and renders incredible, not the reader, whoſe fancy he amuſes, that has juſt cauſe of anger with Curtius.

[13] Curtius, l. iv. c. iii. ſays, that it conſiſted of one hundred and eighty ſail. Plutarch, in Alexand. ſays, that the haven of Tyre

CHAP. XXXVIII.

confided in their fleet, now retired behind the defences of their ports for safety.

Singular operations of the siege.

But these persevering islanders, though they prudently declined an unequal combat, were forsaken neither by their activity nor their courage. The hulks and gallies [14], destined to advance the battering engines against their walls, were assailed with continual showers of ignited arrows [15], and other missile weapons, which came with peculiar effect from wooden towers newly raised on their lofty battlements. This distant hostility retarded, but could not prevent, the approaches of the enemy. The purpose of the Tyrians was better effected by casting down huge stones into the sea, which hindered access to the walls. To clear these incumbrances required the perseverance of the Macedonians, and the animating presence of Alexander. Before the work could be accomplished, the enemy advanced in covered vessels, and cut the cables of the hulks employed in that laborious service. Alexander commanded a squadron to advance and repel the Tyrians. Yet even this did not facilitate the removal of the bar; for the islanders, being expert divers, plunged under water, and again

Tyre was blocked up with two hundred triremes. Arrian distinctly mentions the number and species of ships sent by each city or province. From Macedon there came, he says, a vessel of fifty oars, πεντηκοντορος; a circumstance which proves that, on this emergency, Alexander had taken pains to collect ships from all quarters.

[14] Such vessels were used for this purpose, as were the stoutest sailers. Arrian, p. 86.

[15] Πυροφορους.

cutting

CHAP. XXXVIII.

cutting the cables, ſet the Macedonian veſſels adrift. It thus became neceſſary to prepare chains, which were uſed inſtead of ropes; by which contrivance the hulks were ſecured in firm anchorage, the bank of ſtones was removed, and the battering engines advanced to the walls.

The Tyrians defeated at ſea.

In this extremity the Tyrians ventured to attack the Cyprian ſquadron, ſtationed at the mouth of the harbour which looked towards Sidon. The boldneſs of this meaſure could only be ſurpaſſed by the deliberate valour with which it was carried into execution. The mouth of the haven they had previouſly covered with ſpread ſails, to conceal their operations from the enemy. Mid-day was fixed for the hour of attack, at which time the Greeks and Macedonians repoſed and refreſhed themſelves, and Alexander commonly retired to his pavilion, erected near the harbour which looked towards Egypt. The beſt ſailing veſſels were carefully ſelected from the whole fleet [16], and manned with the moſt expert rowers, and the moſt reſolute ſoldiers, all enured to the ſea, and well armed for fight. At firſt they came forth in a line, ſlowly and ſilently; but having proceeded within ſight of the Cyprians, they at once claſhed their oars, raiſed a ſhout, and advanced a-breaſt of each other to the attack. Several of the enemy's ſhips were ſunk at the firſt

[16] They conſiſted, ſays Arrian, in five choice quinqueremes, as many quadriremes, and ſeven triremes. See note, vol. i. p. 208, & ſeqq.

ſhock;

ſhock; others were daſhed in pieces againſt the ſhore. Alexander, who had fortunately that day tarried but a ſhort time in his pavilion, was no ſooner informed of this deſperate ſally, than, with admirable preſence of mind, he immediately ordered ſuch veſſels as were ready, to block up the mouth of the haven, and thereby prevent the remainder of the Tyrian fleet from joining their victorious companions. Meanwhile, with ſeveral quinquereme, and five trireme, gallies, haſtily prepared, he ſailed round to attack the Tyrians. The beſieged obſerving from their walls the approach of Alexander, endeavoured, by ſhouts and ſignals, to recal their ſhips. They had ſcarcely changed their courſe, when they were aſſailed by the beſiegers, and ſoon rendered unſerviceable. The men ſaved themſelves by ſwimming; few veſſels eſcaped; two were taken at the very entrance of the harbour.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The iſſue of theſe naval operations decided the fate of Tyre. Unawed by the hoſtile fleet, the Macedonians now fearleſsly advanced their engines on all ſides. Amidſt repeated aſſaults during two days, the beſiegers diſplayed the ardour of enthuſiaſm [17], the beſieged the fury of deſpair. From towers

Tyre taken by [illegible] Olymp. [illegible] n. 1. A.C. 332. July.

[17] From the beginning, the difficulties of the ſiege had appeared almoſt unſurmountable to the ſoldiers. "But Alexander," ſays Curtius, "haudquaquam rudis tractandi militares animos, ſpeciem ſibi Herculis in ſomno oblatam eſſe pronunciat, dextram porrigentis." The diviners thence concluded, as Arrian tells us, that Tyre would be taken, but that it would be an Herculean labour. Alexander continued throughout the ſiege to employ the aids of ſuperſtition. At one time it was ſaid, that Apollo was about to leave Tyre, and that

CHAP. LXXVIII.

towers equal in height to the walls, the Greeks and Macedonians fought hand to hand with the enemy. By throwing ſpontoons acroſs, the braveſt ſometimes paſſed over, even to the battlements. In other parts, the Tyrians ſucceſsfully employed hooks and grappling-irons to remove the aſſailants. On thoſe who attempted ſcaling-ladders, they poured veſſels of burning ſand, which penetrated to the bone. The vigour of the attack was oppoſed by as vigorous a reſiſtance. The ſhock of the battering engines was deadened by green hides and coverlets of wool, and whenever an opening was effected, the braveſt combatants advanced to defend the breach. But time and fatigue, which exhauſted the vigour of the enemy, only confirmed the perſeverance of Alexander. On the third day, his engines aſſailed the walls; and the fleet, divided into two ſquadrons, attacked the oppoſite harbours. A wide breach being effected, Alexander commanded the hulks, which carried the engines, to retire, and others, bearing the ſcaling-ladders, to advance, that his ſoldiers might enter the town over the ruins. The targeteers, headed by Admetus, firſt mounted the breach. This gallant commander was ſlain by a ſpear; but Alexander,

that the Tyrians had faſtened him with golden chains to prevent his elopement. At another, Alexander dreamed that a ſatyr playing before him, long eluded his graſp, but finally allowed himſelf to be caught. The augurs divided the word Σατυρος, a Satyr, into two ſyllables, Σα Τυρος, Tyre is thine. By ſuch coarſe artifices, varied according to circumſtances, have the greateſt atchievements been effected.

who

who was preſent wherever danger called, immediately followed with the royal band of *Companions*. At the ſame time the Phœnician fleet broke into the harbour of Egypt, and the Cyprians into that of Sidon. After their walls were taken, the townſmen ſtill rallied, and prepared for defence. The length of the ſiege, and ſtill more the cruelty of the Tyrians, who having taken ſome Grecian veſſels from Sidon, butchered their crews on the top of their wall, and threw their bodies into the ſea, in ſight of the whole Macedonian army, provoked the indignation of Alexander, and exaſperated the fury of the victors. Eight thouſand Tyrians were ſlain; thirty thouſand were reduced to ſervitude [18]. The principal magiſtrates, together with ſome Carthaginians who had come to worſhip the gods of their mother-country, took refuge in the temple of Tyrian Hercules. They were ſaved by the clemency or piety of Alexander, who had loſt four hundred men in this obſtinate ſiege of ſeven months [19].

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The conqueſt of Phœnicia was followed by the ſubmiſſion of the neighbouring province of Judæa [20]. But

Submiſſion of Judæa.

[18] Curtius, l. iv. c. iv. ſays, that fifteen thouſand Tyrians were ſaved by their Sidonian brethren, who clandeſtinely embarked them in their ſhips, and tranſported them to Sidon. This circumſtance, omitted by Arrian, derives ſome probability from the vigorous reſiſtance which, nineteen years afterwards, Tyre again made to the arms of Antigonus. Vid. Diodor. Sicul. p. 702—704.

[19] Arrian, l. ii. p. 84—90.

[20] The Greek hiſtorians of Alexander are ſilent concerning his journey to Jeruſalem, and his extraordinary tranſactions there, deſcribed

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Desperate resistance of Gaza.

But in the road leading to Egypt, the progress of the conqueror was interrupted by the strong city of Gaza, situate on a high hill, near the confines of the Arabian desert [21]. This place, distant about two miles from the sea, and surrounded by marshes or a deep sand, which rendered it extremely difficult of access, was held for Darius by the loyalty of Batis [22], an eunuch, who had prepared to resist Alexander by hiring Arabian troops, and by pro-

scribed by Josephus, l. xi. c. viii. This story, very flattering to the Jews, is inconsistent with the narrative of Arrian, copied in the text. As all Palestine, except Gaza, had submitted to his arms, "Τα μεν αλλα της Παλαιστινης προσκεχωρηκοτα ηδη." Alexander had no occasion to march against Jerusalem. The conversation between Alexander, Parmenio, and the high-priest Jadduah, as related by Josephus, is likewise at variance with well authenticated events in the reign of Alexander. When the high-priest approached to implore the clemency of the conqueror, Alexander, says the Jewish historian, prostrated himself before that venerable old man; an action which so much surprised Parmenio, that he immediately asked his master, "Why he, whom all the world adored, should himself adore the high-priest of the Jews?" It will appear in the sequel, that Alexander did not require this mark of respect (the προσκυνησις) till long after the period alluded to by Josephus: neither could he be accompanied by the Chaldæans, as that writer alleges; much less could the high-priest, with propriety, have requested Alexander to permit the Jews settled in Babylon and Media, the free exercise of their religion, before that prince had conquered those countries, or even passed the Euphrates. See this subject farther examined in Moyle's Letters, vol. ii. p. 415. and in l'Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre, p. 65—69.

[21] Εσχατη δε οικειτο ωσπερ επ' Αιγυπτον εκ Φοινικης ιοντι, επι τη αρχη της ερημου. "It is the last inhabited place on the road from Phœnicia to Egypt, on the skirts of the desert."

[22] Curtius, l. iv. c. vi. calls him Belis; Josephus, l. xi. c. viii.

viding

viding copious magazines. The Macedonian engineers [23] declared their opinion that Gaza was impregnable. But Alexander, unwilling to incur the disgrace and danger of leaving a strong fortress behind him, commanded a rampart to be raised on the south side of the wall, which seemed least secure against an attack. His engines were scarcely erected, when the garrison made a furious sally, and threw them into flames. It required the presence of the King to save the rampart, and to prevent the total defeat of the Macedonians. Warned by a heavenly admonition [24], he had hitherto kept beyond the reach of the enemy's darts; and when the danger of his troops made him forget the divine omen, a weapon, thrown from a catapult, pierced his shield and breastplate, and wounded him in the shoulder. Soon afterwards the engines, which had been used in the siege of Tyre, arrived by sea. A wall of incredible height and breadth [25] was run entirely round the city; the Macedonians raised their batteries; the miners [26] were busy at the founda- CHAP. XXXVIII.

[23] Ὁι μηχανοποιοι, the engine-makers, it should seem that the same persons who made the engines, directed the application of them.

[24] While Alexander was sacrificing, a bird of prey let fall a stone on his head. According to Aristander the soothsayer, this prodigy portended that the city should be taken, but that Alexander would be exposed to danger in the siege.

[25] Ευρος μεν ες δυο σταδιους, ὑψος δε ες πηχεις, πεντηκοντα και διακοσιους, "Two furlongs in breadth, two hundred and fifty feet in height;" but the text is absurdly erroneous

[26] Ὑπονομων τε αλλη και αλλη ορυσσομενων. Arrian, p. 51. This was an uncommon expedient, and used only on great emergencies.

tion;

CHAP. XXXVIII.

tion; breaches were effected; and, after repeated assaults, the city was taken by storm. When their wall was undermined, and their gates in possession of the enemy, the inhabitants still fought desperately, and, without losing ground [27], perished to a man. Their wives and children were enslaved; and Gaza, being re-peopled from the neighbouring territory, served as a place of arms to restrain the incursions of the Arabs.

Easy conquest of Egypt. Olymp. cxii. 1. A. C. 332.

The obstinate resistance of the obscure fortress of Gaza, was contrasted by the ready submission of the celebrated kingdom of Egypt. In seven days march, Alexander reached the maritime city of Pelusium, to which he had previously sent his fleet, with an injunction, after seizing the ships in the harbour, carefully to examine the neighbouring coasts, lakes, and rivers. His decisive victory at Issus, the shameful flight of Darius, the recent subjugation of Syria and Phœnicia, together with the actually defenceless state of Egypt, (Mazaces, the satrap of that large province, having no Persian, and scarcely any regular troops), opened a ready passage to Memphis, the wealthy capital. There, Alexander was received as sovereign, and immediately afterwards acknowledged by the whole nation; a nation long accustomed to fluctuate between one servitude and another, always ready to obey the first summons of an invader, and ever willing to betray him for a new master. Grateful for his unexampled success, the

[27] Καὶ ἀπέθανον πάντες αὐτῷ μαχόμενοι, ὡς ἑκάστοι ἐταχθήσαν. The highest panegyric, being the very words applied by Lysias, Herodotus, &c. to those who fell at Thermopylæ.

conqueror

the conqueror ſacrificed at Memphis to the Egyptian gods, and celebrated in that city gymnaſtic and muſical games, under the direction of Grecian artiſts, accompanying him for that purpoſe. Having placed ſufficient garriſons both in Memphis and Peluſium, he embarked with the remainder of his forces and ſailed down the Nile to Canopus [28].

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Foundation of Alexandria.

At this place, Alexander found abundant occupation for his policy, in a country where there was no opportunity for exerciſing his valour. Continually occupied with the thoughts, not only of extending, but of improving his conqueſts, the firſt glance of his diſcerning eye perceived what the boaſted wiſdom of Egypt had never been able to diſcover. The inſpection of the Mediterranean coaſt, of the Red Sea, of the lake Marœotis, and of the various branches of the Nile, ſuggeſted the deſign of founding a city, which ſhould derive, from nature only, more permanent advantages than the favour of the greateſt princes can beſtow. Fired with this idea, he not only fixed the ſituation [29], but traced the plan of his intended capital, deſcribed

[28] Arrian, p. 51, & ſeqq.

[29] "Egypt," ſays Baron Tott, who lately ſurveyed that country, with the eye of an engineer and a ſtateſman, "was formed to reunite the commerce of Europe, Africa, and the Indies. It ſtood in need of a harbour, vaſt, and of eaſy acceſs. The mouths of the Nile afford neither of theſe advantages: the only proper ſituation, was diſtant twelve leagues from the river, and in the heart of a deſert. On this ſpot, which none but a great genius could have pitched on, Alexander built a city, which being joined to the Nile by a navigable canal, became the capital of

CHAP. XXXVIII.

described the circuit of its walls, and assigned the ground for its squares, market-places, and temples[32]. Such was the sagacity of his choice, that within the space of twenty years, Alexandria rose to distinguished eminence among the cities of Egypt and the East, and continued, through all subsequent ages of antiquity, the principal bond of union, the seat of correspondence and commerce, among the civilized nations of the earth.

Alexander visits the temple of Ammon. Olymp. cxi. 2.

In Egypt, an inclination seized Alexander to traverse the southern coast of the Mediterranean, that he might visit the revered temple and oracle of Jupiter Ammon. This venerable shrine was situate in a cultivated spot of five miles in diameter, distant about fifty leagues from the sea, and rising with attractive beauty amidst the sandy deserts of Lybia. Among the African and Asiatic nations, the oracle of Hammon enjoyed a similar authority to that which Delphi had long held in Greece: and, perhaps, the conquest of the East could not have been so easily accomplished by Alexander, had he not previously obtained the sanction of this venerated shrine. Guided by prudence, or impelled by curiosity, he first proceeded two hundred miles westward, along the coast to Paraetonius, through a desolate country,

of nations, the monuments of commerce. The trading nations of the earth still respect its ruins, heaped up by barbarism, and which require but the operation of a beneficent hand, to restore the boldest edifice which the human mind ever dared to conceive." Mem. de Baron de Tott, t. ii. p. 179.

[32] Arrian, l. iii. sub init.

but

CHAP. XXXVIII.

but not deſtitute of water. He then boldly penetrated towards the ſouth, into the mid-land territory, deſpiſing the danger of traverſing an ocean of ſand, unmarked by trees, mountains or any other object that might direct his courſe, or vary this gloomy ſcene of uniform ſterility [31]. The ſuperſtition of the ancients believed him to have been conducted by ravens, or ſerpents; which, without ſuppoſing a miracle, may, agreeably to the natural inſtinct of animals, have ſometimes bent their courſe through the deſert, towards a well-watered and fertile ſpot, covered with palms and olives. The fountain, which was the ſource of this fertility, formed not the leaſt curioſity of the place. It was exceedingly cool at mid day, and warm at mid night; and, in the intervening time, regularly, every day, underwent all the intermediate degrees of temperature. The adjacent territory produced a foſſile ſalt, which was often dug out in large oblong pieces, clear as cryſtal. The prieſts of Ammon incloſed it in boxes of palm-tree, and beſtowed it in preſents on kings and other illuſtrious perſonages; ſuch ſalt being regarded as purer than that procured from ſea-water, and therefore preferred for the purpoſe of ſacrifice, by perſons curious in their worſhip [32].

Alexander admired the nature of the place, conſulted the oracle concerning the ſucceſs of his expedition, and received, as was univerſally reported,

Alexander ſettles the government of Egypt.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

a very favourable anſwer[33]. Having thus effected his purpoſe at the temple of Ammon, he returned to Memphis, in order finally to ſettle the affairs of Egypt. The inhabitants of that country were reinſtated in the enjoyment of their ancient religion and laws. Two Egyptians were appointed to adminiſter the civil government: but the principal garriſons Alexander prudently entruſted to the command of his moſt confidential friends[34]; a policy alike recommended by the ſtrength and importance of the country, and by the reſtleſs temper of its inhabitants.

Darius collects an army from his eaſtern provinces.

The Macedonians had now extended their arms over Anatolia, Carmania, Syria, and Egypt; countries which anciently formed the ſeat of arts and empire, and which actually compoſe the ſtrength and centre of the Turkiſh power. But Darius (after all hopes of accommodation had vaniſhed with a conqueror who demanded unconditional ſubmiſſion to his clemency[35]) ſtill found reſources

[33] Vid. Plut. Alexand. p. 680. The prieſt or prophet, meant to addreſs Alexander by the affectionate title of παιδιον, child, ſon; but not being ſufficiently acquainted with the Greek tongue, he ſaid, παι Διος, ſon of Jupiter. On this wretched blunder were founded Alexander's pretenſions to divinity. Plut. ibid. & Zonar. Annal. i. p. 134. The fictions of Curtius are inconſiſtent with Arrian, and with Strabo, l. xvii. p. 1168.

[34] Arrian obſerves, that the Romans ſeem to have imitated the jealouſy of Alexander reſpecting Egypt. Senſible of the temptations of the governors of that province to revolt, they appointed, not ſenators, but men of the Equeſtrian order, to be proconſuls of Egypt. Arrian, p. 55.

[35] In this Arrian and Curtius agree. The letters between Alexander and Darius are differently expreſſed by theſe writers.

In

CHAP. XXXVIII.

resources in his eastern provinces, Schirvan, Gilan, Korosan, and the wide extent of territory between the Caspian and the Jaxartes. Not only the subjects of the empire, but the independent tribes in those remote regions, which in ancient and modern times have ever been the abode of courage and barbarity, rejoiced in an opportunity to signalise their restless valour. At the first summons, they poured down into the fertile plains of Assyria, and increased the army of Darius far beyond any proportion of force which he had hitherto collected.

Alexander marches into Assyria. Olymp. cxii. 2. A. C. 331.

Meanwhile Alexander, having received considerable reinforcements from Greece, Macedon, and Thrace, pursued his journey eastward from Phœnicia, passed the Euphrates at Thapsacus [36], boldly stemmed the rapid stream of the Tigris, and hastened to meet the enemy in Assyria. Darius had pitched his tents on the level banks of the Bumadus, near the obscure village of Gaugamela; but the famous battle, which finally decided the empire of the East, derived its name from Arbela, a town in the same province, sixty miles distant from the former, better known, and of easier pronunciation [37].

In both their accounts, which are totally inconsistent with each other, there are internal marks of falsehood.

[36] Darius had entrusted the defence of the pass to Mazacus, with a body of cavalry, of which two thousand were Greeks. But on the first intelligence of Alexander's approach, Mazacus abandoned his post, and drew off his forces. Arrian, p. 56.

[37] This reason, which is giving by Arrian, could scarcely have appeared valid to any but a Greek. Vid Arrian, p. 131.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The fourth day after paſſing the Tigris, Alexander was informed by his ſcouts, that they had ſeen ſome bodies of the enemy's horſe, but could not aſcertain their numbers. Upon this intelligence he marched forward in order of battle; but had not proceeded far, when he was met by other ſcouts, who having penetrated deeper into the country, or examined with greater accuracy, acquainted him that the hoſtile cavalry ſcarcely exceeded a thouſand. This news made him alter his meaſures. The heavy-armed troops were commanded to ſlacken their pace. At the head of the royal cohort, the Pœonians, and auxiliaries, Alexander advanced with ſuch celerity, that ſeveral of the Barbarians fell into his hands. Theſe priſoners gave him very alarming accounts of the force of Darius, who was encamped within a few hours march. Some made it amount to a million of foot, forty thouſand horſe, two hundred armed chariots, and fifteen elephants from the eaſtern banks of the Indus[38]. Others exaggerated (if indeed it was an exaggeration) with more method and probability, reducing the infantry to ſix hundred thouſand, and raiſing the cavalry to an hundred and forty-five thouſand[39]. But all agreed, that the preſent army was greatly more numerous, and compoſed of more warlike nations, than that which had fought at Iſſus[40].

Approaches the enemy.

Their numbers.

[38] Arrian, p. 57.

[39] Curtius, l. iv. c. xii. xiii. edit. Genev. The numbers are different in the other editions.

[40] Arrian & Curtius, loc. citat. Juſtin, l. xi. c. xii. Diodorus, l. xvii. c. xxxix. & liii. Oroſius, l. iii. c. xvii. Plut. in Alexand.

Alexander

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Alexander received this information without teſtifying ſurpriſe. Having commanded an halt, he encamped four days to give his men reſt and refreſhment. His camp being fortified by a good intrenchment, he left in it the ſick and infirm, together with all the baggage; and, on the evening of the fourth day, prepared to march againſt the enemy, with the effective part of his army, which was ſaid to conſiſt of forty thouſand infantry, and ſeven thouſand horſe, unincumbered with any thing but their proviſions and armour. The march was undertaken at the ſecond watch of the night, that the Macedonians, by joining battle in the morning, might enjoy the important advantage of having an entire day before them, to reap the full fruits of their expected victory. About half way between the hoſtile camps, ſome eminences mutually intercepted the view of either army. Having aſcended the riſing ground, Alexander firſt beheld the Barbarians, drawn up in battle array, and perhaps more ſkilfully marſhalled than he had reaſon to apprehend. Their appearance, at leaſt, immediately determined him to change his firſt reſolution. He again commanded a halt, ſummoned a council of war, and different meaſures being propoſed, acceded to the ſingle opinion of Parmenio, who adviſed that the foot ſhould remain ſtationary, until a detachment of horſe had explored the field of battle [41], and

Examines the field of battle.

[41] Την χωραν πασαν ἱνα το ἐργον τοισθαι ἐμελλεν. "The whole ſcene of the future action." Arrian, p. 8.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

carefully examined the diſpoſition of the enemy. Alexander, whoſe conduct was equalled by his courage, and both ſurpaſſed by his activity, performed thoſe important duties in perſon, at the head of his light horſe, and royal cohort. Having returned with unexampled celerity he again aſſembled his captains, and encouraged them by a ſhort ſpeech. Their ardour correſponded with his own; and the ſoldiers, confident of victory, were commanded to take reſt and refreſhment [42].

Diſpoſition of the enemy;

Meanwhile, Darius perceiving the enemy's approach, kept his men prepared for action. Notwithſtanding the great length of the plain, he was obliged to contract his front, and form in two lines, each of which was extremely deep. According to the Perſian cuſtom, the King occupied the centre of the firſt line, ſurrounded by the princes of the blood, and the great officers of his court; and defended by his horſe and foot guards, amounting to fifteen thouſand choſen men. Theſe ſplendid troops which ſeemed fitter for parade than battle, were flanked on either ſide, by the Greek mer-

[42] Διαπονησασθαι και αναπαυεσθαι κελευει τον στρατον. "He commanded his army to ſup and reſt." Arrian, p. 58. This does not well agree with what is ſaid, p. 57. εδεν αλλο ειχε πλην οπλα φερειν. "That the ſoldiers carried nothing but their armour." I have therefore ſupplied the word "proviſions." Both Arrian (loc. citat.), and Curtius, (Lib. iv. c. xiii.) ſay, that Parmenio exhorted Alexander to attack the enemy in the night; to which the King anſwered, that he diſdained κλεπτειν την νικην "to ſteal the victory:" an anſwer worthy of his magnanimity and his prudence; ſince the day and the light were more favourable to the full exertion and diſplay of his ſuperior ſkill and courage.

cenaries,

CHAP. XXXVIII.

cenaries, and other warlike battalions, carefully ſelected from the whole army. The right wing conſiſted of the Medes, Parthians, Hyrcanians, and Sacæ; the left was chiefly occupied by the Bactrians, Perſians, and Cardueſians. The various nations compoſing this immenſe hoſt, were differently armed, with ſwords, ſpears, clubs, and hatchets; while the horſe and foot of each diviſion were blended with ſuch irregularity as ſeemed the reſult of accident rather than of deſign. The armed chariots fronted the firſt line, whoſe centre was farther defended by the elephants. Choſen ſquadrons of Scythian, Bactrian, and Cappadocian cavalry advanced before either wing, prepared to bring on the action, or, after it began, to attack the enemy in flank and rear.

The unexpected approach of Alexander within ſight of his tents, prevented Darius from fortifying the wide extent of his camp; and, as he dreaded a nocturnal aſſault, from enemies who often veiled their deſigns in darkneſs, he commanded his men to remain all night under arms. This unuſual meaſure, the gloomy ſilence, the long and anxious expectation, together with the fatigue of a reſtleſs night, diſcouraged the whole army, but inſpired double terror into thoſe who had witneſſed the miſerable diſaſters on the banks of the Granicus and the Iſſus.

Who remain all night under arms.

At day-break, Alexander diſpoſed his troops in a manner ſuggeſted by the ſuperior numbers and deep order of the enemy. His main body conſiſted

Alexander's order of battle.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

sisted in two heavy armed phalanxes, each amounting to above sixteen thousand men. Of these, the greater part formed into one line; behind which, he placed the remainder of phalangites reinforced by targeteers, with orders, that when the out-spreading wings of the enemy prepared to attack the flanks and rear of his first line, the second should immediately wheel to receive them [43]. The cavalry and light infantry were so disposed on the wings, that while one part resisted the shock of the Persians in front, another, by only facing to the right or left, might take them in flank. Skilful archers and darters were posted at proper intervals, as affording the best defence against the armed chariots, which (as Alexander well knew) must immediately become useless, whenever their conductors or horses were wounded.

and mode of attack.

Having thus arranged the several parts, Alexander with equal judgment led the whole in an oblique direction towards the enemy's left; a manœuvre which enabled the Macedonians to avoid contending at once with superior numbers. When his advanced battalions, notwithstanding their nearness to the enemy, still stretched towards the right, Darius also extended his left, till fearing that by continuing this movement his men should be drawn gradually off the plain, he commanded the Scythian squadrons to advance, and prevent the further extension of the hostile line. Alexander

[43] Επεταξε δε και δευτερων ταξιν ως μη αι την φαλαγγα αμφισημον. Arrian, p. 60. The φαλαγξ αμφισημος is defined by Ælian, as referred to in the text.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Battle of Gaugamela. Olymp. cxii. 2. A. C. 331. October

immediately detached a body of horse to oppose them. An equestrian combat ensued, in which both parties were reinforced, and the Barbarians finally repelled. The armed chariots then issued forth with impetuous violence; but their appearance, only, was formidable; for the precautions taken by Alexander, rendered their assault harmless. Darius next moved his main body, but with so little order, that the horse, mixed with the infantry, advanced, and left a vacuity in the line, which his generals wanted time or vigilance to supply. Alexander seized the decisive moment, and penetrated into the void with a wedge of squadrons. He was followed by the nearest sections of the phalanx, who rushed forward with loud shouts, as if they had already pursued the enemy. In this part of the field, the victory was not long doubtful: after a feeble resistance, the Barbarians gave way: the pusillanimous Darius was foremost in the flight [44].

The battle, however, was not yet decided. The more remote divisions of the phalanx, upon receiving intelligence that the left wing, commanded by Parmenio, was in danger, had not immediately followed Alexander. A vacant space was thus left in the Macedonian line, through which some squadrons of Persian and Indian horse penetrated with celerity, and advanced to the hostile camp [45]. It was then that Alexander derived signal and

[44] Εφυγε εν τοις πρωτοις αισχρως. "He fled shamefully among the foremost." Arrian, p. 69.

[45] The words of Arrian are, Αλλ' επιστησαντες την φαλαγγα (viz. the sections on the left), ηγωνιζοντο ὁτε το ευωνυμον [illegible]

CHAP. XXXVIII.

and well-earned advantages from his judicious order of battle. The heavy-armed troops and targeteers, which he had skilfully posted behind the phalanx, speedily faced about, advanced with a rapid step, and attacked the Barbarian cavalry, already entangled among the baggage. The enemy, thus surprised, were destroyed or put to flight. Meanwhile, the danger of his left wing recalled Alexander from the pursuit of Darius. In advancing against the enemy's right, he was met by the Parthian, Indian, and Persian horse, who

πονεισθαι ηγγελλετο. Και ταυτη παραβραγεισης αυτοι, της ταξεως, κατα το διεχον, διεκαιετι των τε Ινδων τινες, και της Περσικης ιππε, ως, επι τα σκευοφορα των Μακεδονων, &c. The learned Guischardt's commentary is ingenious, but scarcely warranted by the text. "Les sections de la droite de la phalange ayant donné en même temps que les Peltastes, les autres sections, qui étoient par l'oblique plus ou moins en arriere, tacherent aussi de marcher en avant, & de charger l'ennemi. Mais les troupes de la droite des Perses, voyant le fort de combat au centre, se presserent toutes vers cet endroit de la ligne, en se poussant mutuellement, & la foule embarrassa tellement les soldats de la phalange, qu'il leur fut alors impossible de s'avancer. Sur ces entrefaites, Alexandre, pour se faire jour, se jetta sur les derrières de ces ennemis. En même temps la nouvelle de la fuite de Darius, & de la deroute de toute sa gauche s'etant repandue, la consternation devint générale. L'effet en fut singulier, les Perses se voyant coupés, dans leur retraite, par les escadrons d'Alexandre, qu'ils avoient à dos, chercherent à se sauver, même à travers la phalange. Ils se jetterent a corps perdu sur elle. Quoique de vingt quatre de hauteur, elle ne put resister au poids de cette masse. Sa gauche étant alors plus chargée que sa droite, les sections de celle-ci poussérent en avant, & n'observerent pas que, depuis la troisieme section, la gauche restoit en arrière. Il en resulta que la phalange se separa, que sa droite s'avança à la poursuite de l'ennemi, & que des corps nombreux de cavalerie & d'infanterie, qui avoient été au centre Persan, entrèrent tout-à-coup par la crevasse, & poussérent jusques derrière la ligne des Macédoniens." See Mémoires Militaires, c. xv. p. 221.

main-

CHAP. XXXVIII.

maintained a ſharp conflict. Sixty of the *Companions* fell; Hephæſtion, Cœnus, and Menidas, were wounded. Having at length diſſipated this cloud of cavalry, Alexander prepared to attack the foot in that wing. But the buſineſs was already effected, chiefly by the Theſſalian horſe; and nothing remained to be done, but to purſue the fugitives, and to render the victory as deciſive as poſſible [46].

Conſequences of the victory.

According to the leaſt extravagant accounts, with the loſs of five hundred men, he deſtroyed forty thouſand of the Barbarians [47], who never thence-

[46] Soldiers, better acquainted with the practice than with the theory of their art, have often teſtified a juſt ſurprize, that the battles of the ancients ſhould be deſcribed with an order, perſpicuity, and circumſtantial minuteneſs, which are not to be found in the military writers of modern times. Scholars have endeavoured to explain this difference, by obſerving the immenſe diſproportion, in point of dignity and abilities, between the military hiſtorians of modern Europe, and thoſe of Greece and Rome. But the difficulty will be better ſolved, by reflecting on the changes introduced into the art of war by the change of arms; which, in military operations, form the pivot on which the whole turns. 1. From the nature of fire-arms, modern battles are involved in ſmoke and confuſion. 2. From the ſame cauſe modern armies occupy a much greater extent of ground, and begin to act at much greater diſtances; which renders it more difficult to obſerve and aſcertain their manœuvres. 3. The immenſe train of artillery, ammunition, &c. required in the practice of modern war, gives a certain immobility to our armies, which renders it impoſſible to perform, without great danger, thoſe rapid evolutions in ſight of an enemy, which ſo often decided the battles of the ancients. With us, almoſt every thing depends on the judicious choice of ground, a matter requiring great military genius, but not admitting the embelliſhments of hiſtorical deſcription.

[47] In the battles of the Greeks and Romans, the extraordinary diſproportion between the numbers ſlain on the ſide of the

CHAP. XXXVIII.

thenceforth aſſembled in ſufficient numbers to diſpute his dominion in the Eaſt. The invaluable provinces of Babylonia, Suſiana, and Perſis, with their reſpective capitals of Babylon, Suſa, and Perſepolis [48], formed the prize of his ſkill and valour. Alexander had not yet attained the ſummit of his fortune, but he had already reached the height of his renown [49]. The burning of the royal palace of Perſepolis [50], to retaliate the ravages of

victors and of the vanquiſhed, neceſſarily reſulted from the nature of their arms. Their principal weapons being not miſſile, but manual, armies could not begin to act till they had approached ſo nearly to each other, that the conquered found themſelves cut off from all poſſibility of retreat. In modern times the uſe of fire-arms (which often renders the action itſelf more bloody) furniſhes the defeated party with various facilities for eſcape. The ſphere of military action is ſo widely extended, that, before the victors can run over the ſpace which ſeparates them from the vanquiſhed, the latter may fall back, and proceed with little loſs beyond their reach; and ſhould any village, hedge, ravine, &c. be found in their way, may often check the ardour of the purſuers. Upon theſe conſiderations, the invention of gunpowder may be ſaid to have ſaved the effuſion of human blood. Equeſtrian engagements (ſince the principles on which cavalry act remain nearly the ſame in every age) are ſtill diſtinguiſhed by ſimilar circumſtances to thoſe which appear ſo extraordinary in the battles of antiquity.

[48] The gold and ſilver found in thoſe cities amounted to thirty millions ſterling; the jewels and other precious ſpoil, belonging to Darius, ſufficed, according to Plutarch, to load twenty thouſand mules, and five thouſand camels. Plut. in Alexand.

[49] After the battle of Arbela, many of Alexander's actions, as will appear in the text, deſerve the higheſt praiſe; but, before that period, few of them can be juſtly blamed.

[50] Arrian, l. iii. p. 66. Plut. in Alexand. & Strabo, l. xv. p. 502. agree with Arrian in confining the conflagration to the palace.

of Xerxes in Greece, afforded the first indication of his being overcome by too much prosperity. To speak the most favourably of this transaction, an undistinguishing resentment made him forget that he destroyed his own palace, not that of his adversary. CHAP. XXXVIII.

The settlement of his important and extensive conquests, and the reduction of the warlike Uxii, those independent mountaineers, who, inhabiting the western frontier of Persia, had ever defied the Persian power, restrained Alexander from urging the pursuit of Darius. After his defeat, that unfortunate prince escaped by a precipitate and obscure[s] flight across the Armenian mountains into Measures of Darius.

palace. Plutarch tells us, that only a part of that edifice was consumed. Diodorus more accurately, ὁ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα τόπος, "the place around the palace," and Curtius, l. v. c. vi. with his usual extravagance, turns the whole city of Persepolis so completely, that not a vestige of it remained. The learned author of the Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre, has at length proved that Persepolis existed under the successors of Alexander, and continued to exist till the first ages of Mahometanism, when the inhabitants of Persepolis, having violated their treaty with the Mahometans, were butchered without mercy, and their city totally demolished. See Examen Critique, p. 122, & seqq. Mr. D'Anville, however, alleges reasons for believing that there were two cities called Persepolis by the Greeks, situate at a considerable distance from each other, one of which was burnt by Alexander, and the other destroyed by the Mahometans. See his supplement to his Recherches sur les Arts, &c. de la Grèce.

[s] Arrian observes, that Darius showed great judgement in his flight, having left the populous and well-frequented roads leading to Susa and Babylon, towards which he justly suspected that Alexander would march his army, and directing his course over the Armenian mountains into Media. Arrian. p. 63. Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 538. agrees with Arrian. The errors of Curtius, l. v. c. i. are too absurd to merit refutation.

Media,

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Media. Being gradually joined by the ſcattered remnant of his army, amounting to ſeveral thouſand Barbarians, and fifteen hundred Greek mercenaries, he purpoſed to have eſtabliſhed his court in Media, ſhould Alexander remain at Suſa or Babylon [52]; but in caſe he were ſtill purſued by the conqueror, his reſolution was to proceed caſtward, through Parthia and Hyrcania, into the valuable province of Bactria, laying waſte the intermediate country, that he might thus interpoſe a deſert between himſelf and the Macedonians. In this deſign, he diſpatched to the Caſpian Gates the waggons conveying his women, and ſuch inſtruments of convenience or luxury as ſtill ſoftened his misfortunes; and remained in perſon at Ecbatana with his army. Alexander, when appriſed of theſe meaſures, haſtened into Media. In his way he ſubdued the Paraetacaeni; and having reached within three days march of the Median capital, was met by Biſthanes, the ſon of Ochus, Darius's predeceſſor [53]. This Prince informed him, that Darius had fled from thence five days before, attended by three thouſand horſemen, and ſix thouſand foot.

[52] The foundation of this hope was, that a revolt might break out in the Macedonian army; ſince the more and the richer provinces Alexander acquired, his lieutenants would have the greater temptation to aſpire at independence. Subſequent events will juſtify the reaſonable expectation of Darius, which was on this occaſion diſappointed.

[53] Arrian, p. 66. ſpeaks as if Orchus had been Darius's immediate predeceſſor, neglecting the ſhort reign of Arces, the ſon of Ochus, who was poiſoned ſoon after his father by the eunuch Bagoas. Diodor. xvii. 5. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. vi. 8.

Ani-

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Alexander purſues Darius;

Animated by this intelligence, Alexander proceeded to Ecbatana, in which place he left his treaſures, and poſted a ſtrong garriſon. In this city he likewiſe diſmiſſed the Theſſalian cavalry, and ſeveral auxiliary ſquadrons; paying them, beſides their arrears, a gratuity of two thouſand talents. Such as preferred the glory of accompanying his ſtandard to the joy of reviſiting their reſpective countries, were allowed again to enliſt; a permiſſion which many embraced. A ſtrong detachment under Parmenio was ſent into Hyrcania; Cænus, who had been left ſick at Suſa, was commanded to march with all convenient ſpeed into Parthia: while the King, with a well appointed army, advanced with incredible expedition [54] in purſuit of Darius. Having paſſed the Caſpian Straits, he was met by Bagiſtanes, a Babylonian of diſtinction, who acquainted him that Beſſus, governor of Bactria, in conjunction with Nabarzanes, an officer in Darius's cavalry, and Barzaentes, ſatrap of the barbarous Drangæ and Arachoti, had thrown aſide all reſpect for a prince, who was no longer an object of fear. Upon this intelligence, Alexander declared expedition to be more neceſſary than ever. Having, therefore, left the heavy-armed troops and baggage under the command of Craterus, he haſtened forward with a few ſelect bands, carrying only their arms, and two days proviſions.

[54] His marches were thirty eight and forty miles a day; ſometimes more. Xenophon's expedition of Cyrus, and Arrian's expedition of Alexander, mutually illuſtrate and confirm each other.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

In that ſpace of time, he reached the camp from which Bagiſtenes had deſerted; and finding ſome parties of the enemy there, learned that Darius, being ſeized and bound, was actually carried priſoner in his chariot; that Beſſus, in whoſe province this treaſon had been committed, had aſſumed imperial honours; that all the barbarians (Artabazus only and his ſons excepted) already acknowledged the uſurper; that the Greek mercenaries preſerved their fidelity inviolate; and, being unable to endure the flagitious ſcenes that were tranſacting, had quitted the public road, and retired to the mountains, diſdaining not only to participate in the deſigns, but even to ſhare the ſame camp with the traitors. Alexander farther learned, that ſhould he purſue Beſſus and his aſſociates, it was their intention to make peace with him by delivering up Darius; but ſhould he ceaſe from the purſuit, that they had determined to collect forces, and to divide the eaſtern provinces of the empire.

who is treacherouſly ſlain. Olym. cxi. 3. A. C. 330.

Having received this information, Alexander marched all night, and next day till noon, with the utmoſt ſpeed, but without overtaking the enemy. He therefore diſmounted five hundred of his cavalry, placed the braveſt of his foot, completely armed, on horſeback; and commanding Attalus and Nicanor to purſue the great road which Beſſus had followed, advanced in perſon with his choſen band by a nearer way, which was almoſt deſert, and entirely deſtitute of water. The natives of the country were his guide. From the cloſe of the evening

CHAP. XXXVIII.

evening till day break, he had rode nearly fifty miles, when he firſt diſcovered the enemy flying in diſorder, and unarmed. Probably to facilitate their own eſcape, Nabarzanes and Barzaentes ſtabbed Darius, and then rode away with Beſſus, accompanied by ſix hundred horſe. Notwithſtanding the celerity of Alexander, the unhappy Darius expired before the conqueror beheld him [55]. Darius was the laſt king of the houſe of Hyſtaſpes, and the tenth in ſucceſſion to the monarchy of Cyrus. That he was neither brave nor prudent, his conduct ſufficiently evinces; but the uninterrupted chain of his calamities would have prevented him (had he been otherwiſe inclined) from imitating the injuſtice and cruelty of too many of his predeceſſors [56].

Alexander purſues the murderers of Darius.

In this important ſtage of his fortune, Alexander diſplayed tender ſympathy with affliction, warm eſteem of fidelity, and juſt hatred of treaſon. He

[55] Such is the ſimple narration of Arrian. The fictions related by Plutarch in Alexand. & Curtius, l. v. c. xii. & Juſtin, l. xi. c. xv. are inconſiſtent with each other, and all of them betray the deſire to contraſt the exaltation and depreſſion of the fortune of Darius. "He was chained," ſays Curtius, "with golden fetters; but laid in a dirty cart, covered with raw hides." His harangue in praiſe of Alexander would be moral and affecting, were it not totally improbable.

[56] Arrian makes this judicious obſervation, which proves the futility of the Oriental traditions repreſenting Darius as a monſter of tyranny and cruelty. See D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orientale, art. Darab. p. 285. Should the faſhionable ſcepticiſm of the times heſitate between theſe authorities, the reader has only to aſk, what Oriental hiſtorian has related the tranſactions of Darius with the fulneſs and accuracy ſo conſpicuous in Arrian?

CHAP. XXXVIII.

gave orders, that the body of Darius ſhould be tranſported to Perſia, and interred in the royal mauſoleum. The children of the deceaſed prince were uniformly treated with thoſe diſtinctions which belonged to their birth; and Statira [57], his eldeſt daughter, was finally eſpouſed by Alexander. The pardon of the Greek mercenaries, who were admitted into the Macedonian ſervice, and the honourable reception of Artabazus and his ſons, well became the character of a prince, who could diſcern and reward the merit of his enemies. Alexander then purſued the murderers of Darius through the inhoſpitable territories of the Arii and Zarangæi, and in two days accompliſhed a journey of ſix hundred furlongs. Having received the ſubmiſſion of Aornos [58] and Bactra, he paſſed the deep and rapid Oxus, and learned, on the eaſtern banks of this river, that Beſſus, who had betrayed his maſter, had been betrayed in his turn by Spitamenes. The former was ſurpriſed by the Macedonians, and treated with a barbarity [59] better merited by his own crimes, than becoming the character of Alexander.

The Bactrian and Scythian w

Spitamenes ſucceeded to his ambition and danger. In purſuit of this daring rebel, the reſentment of Alexander hurried him through the vaſt

[57] Diodor. xviii. 107. Arrian, vii. 4. Plutarch in Alexand.

[58] We ſhall meet with another place of this name, between the Suaſtus and the Indus.

[59] He was ſtripped naked, whipped, ſhamefully mutilated, &c. Arrian arraigns thoſe cruelties, as unworthy of the Grecian character: but he warmly approves the puniſhing of Beſſus, and the other murderers of Darius.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Olymp. cxii. 4. cxiii. 1. A. C. 328.

but undeſcribed [e] provinces of Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, and other leſs conſiderable diviſions of the ſouthern region of Tartary. The more northern and independent tribes of that immenſe country, whoſe paſtoral life formed an admirable preparation for war, ventured to take arms againſt a conqueror who hovered on the frontier of their plains, and whoſe camp tempted them with the proſpect of a rich plunder. The policy of Spitamenes inflamed their courage, and animated their hopes. Theſe rude nations, and this obſcure leader, proved the moſt dangerous enemies with whom Alexander ever had to contend. Sometimes they faced him in the field, and after obſtinately reſiſting, retreated ſkilfully. Though never vanquiſhed, Alexander obtained many dear-bought victories. The Scythians on ſeveral occaſions ſurprized his advanced parties and interrupted his convoys. The abruptneſs of their attack was only equalled by the celerity of their retreat; their numbers, their courage, and their ſtratagems, all rendered them formidable [f]. But the enlightened intrepidity, and in-

[e] The erroneous geography of the ancients is laboriouſly compared with ſubſequent diſcoveries in the learned work intitled Examen des Anciens Hiſtoriens d'Alexandre; and may be ſeen at one glance, by comparing the maps, uſually prefixed to Quintus Curtius, with thoſe of D'Anville.

[f] In one action, Arrian tells us, that only forty Macedonian horſemen, and three hundred foot, eſcaped. Arrian, l. iv. Curtius mentions another, after which it was made death to divulge the number of the ſlain. Curtius, l. vii. c. 7. Alexander was not preſent in either of theſe engagements; but in a third battle, related by Arrian, the Macedonians were at firſt repelled, many of them wounded, and the King hit with an arrow, which broke the fibula, or leſſer bone of his leg. The Macedonians, however, rallied, and totally defeated the enemy. Arrian, l. iii. ſub fin.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

imitable diſcipline of the Greeks and Macedonians, finally prevailed over Barbarian craft, and deſultory fury. Not contented with repelling his enemies, Alexander croſſed the Jaxartes, and defeated the Scythians[62] on the northern bank of that river. This victory was ſufficient for his renown; and the urgency of his affairs ſoon recalled him from an inhoſpitable deſert.

Alexander finally reduces the provinces between the Caſpian

The provinces between the Caſpian and the Jaxartes twice rebelled, and twice were reduced to ſubmiſſion. The Barbarians fighting ſingly were ſucceſſively ſubdued; their braveſt troops were

[62] Before Alexander paſſed the Jaxartes, he received an embaſſy probably from the *Abian* Scythians. Their oration, omitted by all the Greek writers, is preſerved in Curtius, l. vii. c. 8. It is remarkable for the bold elevated ſtyle, in which theſe Barbarians diſplay their own advantages and deſcribe the deſtructive ambition of the invader. In both reſpects, it agrees with the admirable harangue of the Caledonian chieftain Galgacus, in Tacitus's Life of Agricola. But the glowing ſentiments of thoſe independent and high-minded nations are invigorated by the brevity of Tacitus, and weakened by the diffuſiveneſs of Curtius. Both orations abound in metaphors. "Great trees," ſay the Scythians to Alexander, "require long time to grow: the labour of a few hours levels them with the ground. Take care, leaſt, in climbing to the top, you ſhould fall with the branches which you have ſeized. Graſp Fortune with both your hands; ſhe is ſlippery, and cannot be confined. Our countrymen deſcribe her without feet, with hands only, and wings. Thoſe to whom ſhe ſtretches out her hand, ſhe allows not to touch her wings. Rein your proſperity, that you may the more eaſily manage it. Our poverty will be ſwifter than your army loaded with ſpoil. We range the plain and the foreſt; we diſdain to ſerve, and deſire not to command." The figurative ſtyle of the Scythians is ſufficiently conſonant to the manners of barbarous nations. See Principii di Scienza nuova, vol. i. p. 156, & ſeqq. See likewiſe Chapters fifth and ſixth of the preſent Hiſtory. Le Clerc, therefore, ſpeaks inconſiderately when, in arraigning the fidelity of Curtius, he ſays, "Scythæ ipſi, omnium literarum rudes, rhetorico calamiſtro inuſti, in medium prodeunt." Judic. Curt. p. 326.

gradually

CHAP. XXXVIII.

gradually intermixed in the Macedonian ranks; and Alexander, thus continually reinforced by new numbers, was enabled to overawe thoſe extenſive countries, by dividing his army into five formidable brigades commanded by Hephæſtion, Ptolemy, Perdiccas, Cænus [63], and himſelf. Near Gabæ, a fortreſs of Sogdiana, Cænus attacked and defeated Spitamenes. The Sogdians and Bactrians deſerted their unfortunate general and ſurrendered their arms to the conqueror. The Maſſagetæ and other Scythians, having plundered the camp of their allies, fled with Spitamenes to the deſert; but being appriſed, that the Macedonians prepared to purſue them, they ſlew this active and daring chief, whoſe courage deſerved a better fate; and, in hopes of making their own peace, ſent his head to the conqueror.

and the Jaxartes. Olymp. cxii. 2. A. C. 327.

After the death of Spitamenes, the enemy feebly reſiſted Alexander in the open country: but in the provinces of Sogdiana and Parætacene, two important fortreſſes, long deemed impregnable, ſtill bade defiance to the invader. Into the former, Oxyartes the Bactrian, who headed the *rebellion* (for ſo the Macedonians termed the brave defence of the Bactrians), had placed his wife and children. The rock was ſteep, rugged, almoſt inacceſſible, and provided with corn for a long ſiege. The deep ſnow, by which it was ſurrounded, increaſed the difficulty of aſſaulting it, and ſupplied the garriſon

Siege of [illegible] for-

Olymp. cxii. 2. A. C. 32

[63] Artabazus, the faithful attendant of Darius, and afterwards the friend of Alexander, was joined in the command with Cænus. Arrian.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

with water. Alexander, having ſummoned the Bactrians to ſurrender, was aſked in deriſion, Whether he had furniſhed himſelf with winged ſoldiers? This inſolence piqued his pride; and he determined to make himſelf maſter of the place, with whatever difficulties and dangers his undertaking might be attended. This reſolution was conſonant to his character. His ſucceſs in arms, owing to the reſources of his active and comprehenſive mind, ſometimes encouraged him to enterpriſe, neither juſtified by neceſſity, nor warranted by prudence. Fond of war, not only as an inſtrument of ambition, but as an art in which he gloried to excel, he began to regard the means as more valuable than the end, and ſacrificed the lives of his men to military experiments alike hazardous and uſeleſs: yet, on the preſent occaſion, ſound policy ſeems to have directed his meaſures. Having determined ſoon to depart from thoſe provinces, he might judge it imprudent to leave an enemy behind; it might ſeem neceſſary to deſtroy the ſeeds of future rebellion; and, by exploits unexampled and almoſt incredible, to impreſs ſuch terror of his name, as would aſtoniſh and overawe his moſt diſtant and warlike dependencies.

which is taken by a contrivance equally

Alexander carefully examined the Sogdian fortreſs, and propoſed a reward of twelve talents[64] to the man who ſhould firſt mount the top of the rock

[64] Above £2000, equal in value to near £20,000 in the preſent age.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

on which it was ſituated. The ſecond and third were to be proportionably rewarded, and even the laſt of ten was to be gratified with the ſum of three hundred darics. The hopes of this recompence, which, in the conception of the Greeks and Macedonians, was equally honourable and lucrative, ſtimulated the love of adventure, ſo conſpicuous, in both nations. Three hundred men, carefully ſelected from the whole army, were furniſhed with ropes made of the ſtrongeſt flax, and with iron pins uſed in pitching tents. They were likewiſe provided with ſmall pieces of linen, which, being joined together, might ſerve as a ſignal. Thus equipped, they proceeded at the cloſe of evening towards the moſt abrupt ſide of the rock, and therefore the moſt likely to be unguarded. By driving the iron pins into congealed ſnow, and then faſtening to them the ropes, they gradually hoiſted themſelves up the mountain. In this extraordinary enterpriſe, thirty men periſhed, whoſe bodies were ſo profoundly buried in the ſnow, that, notwithſtanding the moſt diligent ſearch, they could never afterwards be recovered. By this ſimple contrivance, thoſe daring adventurers gained the ſummit of the rock, which overlooked the fortreſs; and waving their ſignals in the morning, were diſcovered by Alexander. At this joyous ſight, he ſummoned the beſieged to ſurrender to his winged ſoldiers. The Barbarians beheld and trembled; terror multiplied the number of their enemies, and repreſented them as completely armed;

Ingenious and daring.

Alexander

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Alexander was invited to take poſſeſſion of the fortreſs [65].

Alexander's generous treatment of Roxana.

This obſcure and even nameleſs caſtle contained Roxana, daughter of Oxyartes, and deemed, next to the ſpouſe of Darius, the greateſt beauty in the Eaſt. Alexander admired her form and her accompliſhments; but even in the fervour of youth, and the intoxication of proſperity, his generous mind diſdained the cruel rights of a conqueror, as juſtified by the maxims and example of his age and country. With a moderation and ſelf-command, worthy the ſcholar of Ariſtotle, he declined the embraces of his captive, till his condeſcending affection raiſed her to the throne, chooſing rather to offend the prejudices of the Macedonians, than to tranſgreſs the laws of humanity [66].

The fortreſs of Chorienes ſurrenders. Olymp. cxiii. 2. A. C. 327.

In Bactria, Alexander learned that the Parætaceni were in arms, and that many of his moſt dangerous enemies had ſhut themſelves up in the fortreſs or rock of Chorienes. Upon this intelligence, he haſtened to the Parætacene hills. The height of the rock, which was everywhere ſteep and craggy, he found to be nearly three miles, and its circumference above ſeven. It was ſurrounded by a broad and deep ditch, at ſuch diſtance from the baſe as placed the garriſon beyond the reach of miſſile weapons. Alexander gave orders that the fir trees, of extraordinary height, which ſurrounded the mountain, ſhould be cut down, and formed into ladders, by means of which, his men de-

[65] Arrian, p. 91, & ſeqq. [66] Id. ibid.

ſcending

CHAP. XXXVIII.

ſcending the ditch, drove huge piles into the bottom. Theſe, being placed at proper diſtances, were covered with hurdles of ozier conſolidated with earth. In this occupation his whole army were employed by turns, night and day. The Barbarians at firſt derided this ſeemingly uſeleſs labour. But their inſults were ſoon anſwered by Macedonian arrows. By theſe, and other miſſile weapons, the Macedonians, who were carefully protected by their coverings, ſo much annoyed the beſieged, that the latter became deſirous to capitulate. For this purpoſe, Chorienes, from whom the place derived its name, deſired to converſe with Oxyartes the Bactrian, who, ſince the taking of his wife and children, had ſubmitted to Alexander. His requeſt being granted, Oxyartes ſtrongly exhorted him to ſurrender his fortreſs and himſelf, aſſuring him of Alexander's goodneſs, of which his own treatment furniſhed an eminent example, and declaring that no place was impregnable to ſuch troops and ſuch a general. Chorienes prudently followed this advice; and, by his ſpeedy ſubmiſſion, not only obtained pardon, but gained the friendſhip of Alexander, who again entruſted him with the command of his fortreſs, and the government of his province. The vaſt magazines of corn, meat, and wine, collected by the Parætaceni for a long ſiege, afforded a ſeaſonable ſupply to the Macedonian army, eſpecially during the ſeverity of winter, in a country covered with ſnow many feet deep [67].

[67] Arrian, p. 92.

By

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The virtues displayed by Alexander in making and regulating his conquests.

By ſuch memorable atchievements, Alexander ſubdued the nations between the Caſpian ſea, the river Jaxartes, and the lofty chain of mountains, which ſupply the ſources of the Indus and the Ganges. In the conduct of this remote and dangerous warfare, the great abilities of the general were conſpicuouſly diſtinguiſhed. His example taught the troops to deſpiſe hunger, fatigue, cold, and danger: neither rugged mountains, nor deep and rapid rivers, nor wounds, nor ſickneſs, could interrupt his progreſs, or abate his activity: his courage expoſed him to difficulties, from which he was extricated by new efforts of courage, which, in any other commander, would have paſſed for temerity. Amidſt the hardſhips of a military life, obſtinate ſieges, bloody battles, and dear-bought victories, he ſtill reſpected the rights of mankind, and practiſed the mild virtues of humanity. The conquered nations enjoyed their ancient laws and privileges; the rigours of deſpotiſm were ſoftened; arts and induſtry encouraged; and the proudeſt Macedonian governors compelled, by the authority and example of Alexander, to obſerve the rules of juſtice towards their meaneſt ſubjects[68]. To bridle the fierce inhabitants of the Scythian plains, he founded cities, and eſtabliſhed colonies on the banks of the Jaxartes and the Oxus; and thoſe deſtructive campaigns, uſually aſcribed to his reſtleſs activity and blind ambition, appeared to the diſcernment of this extraordinary man, not only

[68] Plutarch, Arrian, & Curtius, paſſim.

eſſential

CHAP. XXXVIII.

essential to the security of the conquests which he had already made, but necessary preparations for more remote and splendid expeditions which he still purposed to undertake; and which, as will appear in the succeeding chapter, he performed with singular boldness and unexampled success.

Commotions in Greece checked by Antipater. Olymp. cxii. 3. A. C. 330.

During the three first years that the invincible heroism of Alexander triumphed in the East, the firm vigilance of Antipater repressed rebellion in Greece. But the attention of that general being diverted, by a revolt in Thrace, from the affairs of the southern provinces, the Lacedæmonians, instigated by the warlike ambition of their king Agis, ventured to exert that hostility against Macedon which they had long felt and expressed. Reinforced by some communities of the Peloponnesus, which imprudently listened to their counsels, the allied army amounted to twenty-two thousand men. Antipater, having checked the insurrection in Thrace, hastened into the Grecian peninsula with a superior force, and defeated the confederates in a battle, which proved fatal to King Agis, and three thousand Peloponnesian troops. The vanquished were allowed to send ambassadors to implore the clemency of Alexander. From this generous prince, the rebellious republics received promise of pardon, on condition that they punished with due severity the authors of an unprovoked and ill-judged revolt[69].

Tranquillity of that country

From this period, till the death of Alexander, Greece enjoyed, above eight years, an unusual de-

[69] Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 537. Curtius, l. vi. c. i.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

during the subsequent years of Alexander's reign.

gree of tranquillity and happineſs. The ſuſpicious and ſevere temper of Antipater was reſtrained by the commands of his maſter, who, provided the ſeveral republics ſent him their appointed contingents of men to reinforce his armies, was unwilling to exact from them any farther mark of ſubmiſſion. Under the protection of this indulgent ſovereign, to the glory of whoſe conqueſts they were aſſociated, the Greeks ſtill preſerved the forms, and diſplayed the image, of that free conſtitution of government, whoſe ſpirit had animated their anceſtors.

Cteſiphon accuſed by Æſchines, and defended by Demoſthenes. Olymp. cxii. 3. A. C. 330.

While Alexander purſued the murderers of Darius, Athens was crowded with ſpectators from the neighbouring republics, to behold a long prepared intellectual conflict between Æſchines and Demoſthenes, whoſe rivalſhip in power and fame had for many years divided the affections of their country men. In conſequence of a decree propoſed by Cteſiphon, we hav ſeen Demoſthenes honoured with a golden crown, as the reward of his political merit. His adverſary had, even before the death of Philip, denounced the author of this decree as a violator of the laws of his country. 1. Becauſe he had decreed public honours to a man actually entruſted with the public money, and who had not yet paſſed his accounts. 2. Becauſe, contrary to law, he had adviſed that the crown conferred on Demoſthenes, ſhould be proclaimed in the theatre. 3. Becauſe the boaſted ſervices of Demoſthenes had ended in public diſgrace and ruin; and that, inſtead of being rewarded with a

crown, he ought to be puniſhed as a traitor. Various circumſtances, which it is now impoſſible to explain, retarded the hearing of this important cauſe, till the ſixth year of the reign of Alexander. The triumph of the Macedonians ſeemed to promiſe every advantage to Æſchines, who had long been the partiſan of Philip, and of his magnanimous ſon; and who, by a ſtroke aimed at Cteſiphon, meant chiefly to wound Demoſthenes, the avowed enemy of both. CHAP. XXXVIII.

In the oration of Æſchines, we find the united powers of reaſon and argument combined with the moſt ſplendid eloquence. Yet the perſuaſive vehemence of Demoſthenes prevailed in the conteſt. The unexampled exertions[70], by which he obtained this victory, will be admired to the lateſt ages of the world. To what an exalted pitch of enthuſiaſm muſt the orator have raiſed himſelf and his audience, when, to juſtify his adviſing the fatal battle of Chæronæa, he exclaimed, "No, my fellow-citizens, you have not erred; No; I ſwear it by the manes of thoſe heroes who fought in the ſame cauſe at Marathon and Platæa." What ſublime art was required to arrive, by juſt degrees, at this lofty or rather gigantic ſentiment, which, in any other light than the inimitable blaze of eloquence with which it was ſurrounded, would appear altogether extravagant. Æſchines baniſhed for calumny.

The orator not only juſtified Cteſiphon and himſelf, but procured the baniſhment of his adver- Generoſity of Demoſthenes.

[70] See the Orat. de Coron. throughout.

ſary,

CHAP. XXXVIII.

ſary, as the author of a malignant and calumnious accuſation. Honourable as this triumph was, Demoſthenes derived more ſolid glory from the generous treatment of his vanquiſhed rival. Before Æſchines ſet ſail, he carried to him a purſe of money, which he kindly compelled him to accept; a generoſity which made the baniſhed man feel ſeverely the weight of his puniſhment, and affectingly obſerve, "How deeply muſt I regret the loſs of a country, in which enemies are more generous than friends elſewhere!" Æſchines retired to the iſle of Rhodes, and inſtituted a ſchool of eloquence, which flouriſhed ſeveral centuries. It is recorded, that having read to his ſcholars the oration which occaſioned his baniſhment, it was received with extraordinary applauſe. But when this applauſe was redoubled on his reading the anſwer of Demoſthenes, he was ſo far from teſtifying envy, that he exclaimed to his audience, "What would have been your admiration, had you heard the orator himſelf!"

His death. Olymp. cxiv. 3. A. C. 322.

Demoſthenes ſurvived Alexander, whoſe magnanimity diſdained to puniſh an enemy whom he ſcarcely regarded as dangerous. But this illuſtrious Athenian patriot fell a prey to the more ſuſpicious policy of Antipater. At the deſire of that prince, he was baniſhed Athens, and being purſued by Macedonian aſſaſſins to the little iſland of Calauria, he ended his life by poiſon [71].

The ſentence of the Athe-

It may be thought, that the conqueror of the Perſian empire would have little leiſure, or incli-

[71] Plut. in Demoſthen. & Lucian. Demoſthen. Encom.

nation

CHAP. XXXVIII.

nation, to attend to a perſonal altercation between two Athenian orators; and that neither the impeachment nor the defence of Demoſthenes could affect his pride or his intereſt. It deſerves to be conſidered, however, that this orator was the inveterate, and long the ſucceſsful, opponent of the greatneſs of his family; and, in the beginning of his own reign, had attempted, with more courage, indeed, than prudence, to overturn the yet unconſolidated pillar of his fortune. But whatever indifference Alexander, who was carefully informed of the tranſactions of Greece, might teſtify amidſt the honours of Demoſthenes, it cannot be believed that he heard with total unconcern the ſentence of the Athenian people; a ſentence which reverſed the deciſion of fortune, and arraigned the cruel and melancholy triumph of Philip over the liberties of Greece. That he never reſented the indignity, is a proof of his moderation; and that the Athenians could venture on a meaſure ſo offenſive, is a proof of the freedom and ſecurity which they enjoyed under the Macedonian government.

nians in favour of Demoſthenes, honourable to the moderation of Alexander.

Deprived indeed of the honour, but alſo delivered from the cares, of independent ſovereignty, and undiſturbed by thoſe continual and often bloody diſſenſions, which deform the annals of their tumultuous liberty, the Greeks indulged their natural propenſity to the ſocial embelliſhments of life; a propenſity by which they were honourably diſtinguiſhed above all other nations of antiquity. Their innumerable ſhows, feſtivals, and dramatic entertainments, were exhibited with more pomp than at

State of Greece during the latter years of the reign of Alexander.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

any former period. The ſchools of philoſophers and rhetoricians were frequented by all deſcriptions of men. Painting and ſtatuary were cultivated with equal ardour and ſucceſs. Many improvements were made in the ſciences; and, as will appear more fully hereafter, the Greeks, and the Athenians in particular, ſtill rivalled the taſte and genius, though not the ſpirit and virtue, of their anceſtors. Yet even in this degenerate ſtate, when patriotiſm aud true valour were extinct, and thoſe vanquiſhed republicans had neither liberties to love, nor country to defend, their martial honours were revived and brightened by an aſſociation with the renown of their conqueror. Under Alexander, their exploits, though directed to very different purpoſes, equalled, perhaps excelled, the boaſted trophies of Marathon and Platæa. By a ſingularity peculiar to their fortune, the æra of their political diſgrace coincides with the moſt ſplendid period of their military glory. Alexander was himſelf a Greek; his kingdom had been founded by a Grecian colony; and, to revenge the wrongs of that nation, he undertook and accompliſhed the moſt extraordinary enterpriſes recorded in the hiſtory of the world.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Alexander's Indian Expedition. — Route purſued by the Army. — Aornos taken. — Nyſa and Mount Meros. — Alexander paſſes the Indus and Hydaſpes. — Defeats Porus. — Founds Nicæa and Bucephalia. — Paſſes the Aceſines and Hydraotes. — Sangala taken. — Eaſtern Boundary of Alexander's Conqueſts. — He ſails down the Hydaſpes. — Takes the Mallian fortreſs. — His march through the Gedroſian Deſert. — Voyage of Nearchus. — Alexander improves the internal State of his Conqueſts. — Incorporates the Barbarian Levies with the Greeks and Macedonians. — Intermarriages of the Europeans and Aſiatics. — Artifices to prevent Alexander's Return to Babylon. — His Death, and Character. — Diviſion of his Conqueſts. — Subſequent Hiſtory of Egypt and Syria. — The Weſtern Diviſion of Alexander's Empire conquered by the Romans. — State of Greece after the Age of Alexander.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Alexander undertakes his Indian expedition. Olymp. cxii. 2. A. C. 327.

By juſt views of policy, rather than the madneſs of ambition, Alexander was carried to the rugged banks of the Oxus and the Iaxartes. The fierce nations of thoſe inhoſpitable regions had, in ancient times, repeatedly over-run the more wealthy and more civilized provinces of Aſia. Without diffuſing through the Scythian plains the terror of his name, the conqueror could not have ſecurely enjoyed the ſplendour of Suſa and Babylon;

CHAP. XXXIX.

nor without the assistance of numerous and warlike levies, raised in those barbarous countries, could he have prudently undertaken his Indian expedition. For this remote and dangerous enterprise, he prepared early in the spring; Amyntas being appointed governor of Bactria, and entrusted with a sufficient strength to overawe the surrounding provinces.

Traverses the Paropamisus.

With all the remainder of his forces, Alexander hastened southwards, and in ten days march traversed the Paropamisus, a link of that immense chain of mountains, reaching from the coast of Cilicia to the sea of China. This southern belt, distinguished in different portions of its length by the various names of Taurus, Paropamisus, Imaus, and Edmodus, the Greeks confounded [1] with the northern chain, of which Scythian Caucasus is a part, and whose remote branches extend from the shores of the Euxine to the eastern extremity of Tartary. Such is the strong frame which supports the ponderous mass of Asia. The intermediate space, especially towards the central country of Bucharia, is far more elevated than any other portion of the ancient continent [2]; and the towering heights of Paropamisus had hitherto defended (if we except the obscure expedition of Darius) the feeble majesty of India against the ravagers of the earth. The difficulties of this celebrated journey have,

[1] The errors of Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 553. and of Curtius, l. vii. c. iii. are avoided by Arrian, l. v. p. 103. and by Strabo, l. xv. p. 724. See also Arrian. Indic. c. 2.

[2] That is, the Asia known to the Ancients; for, by barometrical observations many parts of Chinese Tartary are 15,000 feet above the yellow sea; and the highlands there, are far more elevated than those of Bucharia. Conf. Pallas Act. Petropol. an. 1777. Staunton's China, Vol. ii. p. 206. Kirwan's Geological Essays. p. 26. & seqq.

perhaps,

CHAP. XXXIX.

perhaps, been rather exaggerated than deſcribed, by the hiſtorians of Alexander. Yet our indulgence may pardon the fanciful [2] expreſſions of antiquity, when we read in the work of a modern writer of acknowledged veracity, "Thoſe mountains are covered with ice; the cold which I ſuffered was extreme; the country preſents a melancholy image of death and horror [3]."

Difficulty of penetrating into India by land.

But the rugged nature of the country was not the only difficulty with which the Macedonians had to ſtruggle. The northern regions of India were inhabited in ancient, as they are ſtill in modern times, by men of ſuperior ſtrength and courage [4]; and the vigorous reſiſtance made by the natives of thoſe parts, rendered it as difficult for Alexander to penetrate into the Indian peninſula by land, as it has always been found eaſy by the maritime powers of Europe, to invade and ſubdue the unwarlike inhabitants of its coaſts.

Route purſued by Alexander.

The experienced leader ſeems to have conducted his army by the route of Candahar, well known to the caravans of Agra and Iſpahan. Having reached the banks of the Cophenes, he divided his forces; the greater part he retained under his immediate command; the remainder were detached, under Hephæſtion and Perdiccas, to clear the road to the Indus, and to make all neceſſary preparations for croſſing that river. After many ſevere conflicts, he ſubdued the Aſpii, Thryræi, Araſaci, and Aſ-

[2] Curtius, l. vii. c. 3.

[3] See "le Voyage du Pere Defideri." It was performed in the year 1715. Lettres Edifiantes, xv. 185.

[4] Arrian, p. 97, & ſeqq.

CHAP. XXXIX.

ſaceni; ſcoured the banks of the Choas and Cophenes; expelled the Barbarians from their faſtneſſes; and drove them towards their northern mountains, which ſupply the ſources of the Oxus and the Indus.

Aornos taken.

Near the weſtern margin of the latter, one place, defended by the Baziri [4], ſtill defied his aſſaults. This place, called by the Greeks Aornos, afforded refuge not only to the Baziri, but to the moſt warlike of their neighbours, after their other ſtrongholds had ſurrendered. From its deſcription, it appears to have been admirably adapted to the purpoſe of a long and vigorous defence. Mount Aornos was two hundred furlongs in circuit; eleven in height, where loweſt; acceſſible by only one dangerous path cut in the rock by art; containing, near the top, a plentiful ſpring of water, a thick and lofty wood, together with a ſufficient quantity of arable land to employ the labour of a thouſand men. An emulation of glory prompted Alexander to make himſelf maſter of a place, which fable deſcribed as impregnable to the greateſt heroes of antiquity [5]. By the voluntary aſſiſtance and direc-

[4] It is worthy of remark, that the deſcendants of Alexander's followers have been recogniſed in Bijore, the country of the Bazira. Several oriental writers, particularly the author of the Ayin Acbaree, maintain this fact; the bare report of which argues a perfect conviction in the minds of the natives, that Alexander ſubjected Bijore, and transferred his conqueſts to his countrymen. Rennel's Memoir, 2d edition, p. 162.

[5] Arrian, p. 98. who ſupplies the particulars in the text, ſays, that he knows not whether it was the Grecian, Tyrian, or Egyptian Hercules, who laid ſiege unſucceſsfully to Aornos. He doubts whether any of them ever penetrated to India; adding, that the name of Hercules appears to him to have been employed, on this occaſion, as on many others, "ες πομπην του λογου," "as an oſtentatious fiction."

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CHAP. XXXIX.

tion of ſome neighbouring tribes, hoſtile to the Baziri, Ptolemy aſcended part of the rock unperceived; Alexander with his uſual diligence raiſed a mount, erected his engines, and prepared to annoy the enemy. But, before he had an opportunity to employ the reſources of his genius, by which he had taken places ſtill ſtronger than Aornos, the garriſon ſent a herald, under pretence of ſurrendering on terms, but in reality with a view to protract negociation during the whole day, and at night to effect their eſcape. Alexander, who ſuſpected this intention, met their art with ſimilar addreſs. Patiently waiting till the Indians deſcended the mountain, he took poſſeſſion of the ſtrong-hold which they had abandoned, having previouſly poſted a proper detachment to intercept the fugitives, and puniſh their perfidy.

Alexander marches to Nyſa and Mount Meros.

The Macedonians proceeded ſouthward from Aornos, into the country between the Cophenes and the Indus. In this fertile diſtrict, the army, as it advanced towards Mount Meros and the celebrated Nyſa, was met by a deputation from the citizens of that place, which (could we believe hiſtoric flattery) had been founded in the heroic or rather in the fabulous ages, by a Grecian colony under Bacchus[6] at the eaſtern extremity of his conqueſts. Theſe wandering *Greeks*, might we indulge for a moment the ſuppoſition that the inhabitants of Nyſa were really entitled to that name, appear in this Indian ſoil to have degenerated from the courage, while they preſerved the policy, the eloquence, and the artifices, of their European

[6] Arrian Indic. c. 1.

CHAP. XXXIX.

brethren. Being immediately conducted to Alexander, who had juſt ſat down in his tent, covered with ſweat and duſt, and ſtill armed with his caſque and lance, they teſtified great horror at his aſpect, and threw themſelves proſtrate on the ground. The King having raiſed them from this humiliating poſture, and addreſſed them with his uſual condeſcenſion, they recovered ſufficient boldneſs to entreat him to ſpare their country and their liberties, for the ſake of Bacchus their founder. In proof of this allegation, they inſiſted on the name Nyſa, derived from the nurſe [7] of Bacchus, and on the abundance, not only of vines and laurel, but of ivy, which grew in *their* territory, and in no other part of India. Alexander, willing to admit a pretenſion, which might atteſt to ſucceeding ages that he had carried his conqueſts ſtill farther than Bacchus [8], readily

[7] The reſpect ſhewn by the Greeks to their nurſes is well known, and is atteſted by the tragedians. In this reſpect, the modern Greeks ſtill imitate their anceſtors. The word employed to ſignify a nurſe, properly denotes "a ſecond mother." See Monſieur Guys' Voyage Litteraire de la Grèce, Lettre v.

[8] Eratoſthenes the Cyrenian, and many other ancient writers, aſſerted, that the fictions concerning Bacchus's expedition to the Eaſt, were invented by the flatterers of Alexander. But Strabo juſtly obſerves that the belief of that expedition long preceded the age of the ſon of Philip. To juſtify this obſervation, he cites the verſes of Sophocles and Euripides. The latter of theſe poets, in the prologue to his *Bacchæ*, introduces Bacchus, ſaying, that he had come to Thebes, and adorned with vines the temple of Semele.

Λιπων δε Λυδων τας πολυχρυσους γυας
Φρυγων τε Περσων θ' ἡλιοβλητους πλακας,
Βακτρα τε τειχη την τε δυσχειμον χθονα
Μηδων, επελθων Αραβιαν τ' ευδαιμονα
Ασιαν τε πασαν, ἡ παρ' ἁλμυραν ἁλα
Κειται, μιγασιν Ελλησι βαρβαροις θ' ομου
Πληρεις εχουσα καλλιπυργωτους πολεις.

"Leaving

readily granted their requeſt. Having underſtood that Nyſa was governed by an ariſtocracy, he demanded, as hoſtages, an hundred of their principal citizens, and three hundred of their cavalry. This demand excited the ſmile of Acuphis, who headed the embaſſy. Alexander deſired him to interpret his ſmile. He replied, "O king! you are welcome to three hundred of our horſemen, and more, ſhould you require them. But can you believe it poſſible that any city ſhould long continue ſafe, after loſing an hundred of its moſt virtuous citizens? Inſtead of one hundred of the beſt, ſhould you be contented with two hundred of the worſt, men in Nyſa, be aſſured that, at

"Leaving the golden fields of the Lydians, the ſun-beat plains of Phrygia and Perſia, the Bactrian fortreſſes, and the wintry ſtorms of the Medes — having over-run happy Arabia, and the maritime provinces of Aſia, crowned with fair turretted cities, inhabited by mingled Greeks and Barbarians." Sophocles mentions Nyſſa in particular Βροτοισι κλεινην Νυσσαν. Vide Strabo, l. xv. p. 687. Notwithſtanding ſuch reſpectable authorities for the vulgar tradition, both Strabo and Arrian treat the expedition of Bacchus to India as a fable; the geographer on the following grounds: 1. Becauſe the relations of authors on this ſubject are totally inconſiſtent. 2. Becauſe many of the writers who accompanied Alexander are altogether ſilent concerning this matter. 3. Becauſe the intermediate countries, between Greece and India, poſſeſs no monuments of this pretended expedition. Strabo, p. 688. The philoſophical hiſtorian diſcovers his ſentiments to be the ſame with Strabo's, but expreſſes himſelf with more tenderneſs for the popular ſuperſtition, concluding, "ουκ ακριβῆ εξεταστην χρη ειναι των ὑπερ του θειου, εκ παλαιου, μεμυθευμενων;" "that the *traditions* of the ancients concerning the Gods ought not to be too carefully ſifted." Arrian, p. 101. An obſervation which might have merited the attention of thoſe who, in later times, have ventured to explain hiſtorically, or to analyze, the Grecian mythology.

your

CHAP. XXXIX.

your return, you will find this country in as flouriſhing a condition as when you left it." Pleaſed with his addreſs, Alexander remitted his demand of the magiſtrates; he was accompanied by the cavalry, and by the ſon and nephew of Acuphis, who were ambitious to learn the art of war under ſuch an accompliſhed general.

Alexander paſſes the Indus, and receives the ſubmiſſion of Taxiles.

The tranſactions which we have deſcribed, and a march of ſixteen days from the Oxus to the Indus, allowed time for Hephæſtion and Perdiccas to make the preparations neceſſary for paſſing the latter river, probably by a bridge of boats [9]. On the eaſtern bank, Alexander received the ſubmiſſion of the neighbouring princes. Of theſe, Taxiles, who was the moſt conſiderable, brought, beſides other valuable preſents, the aſſiſtance of ſeven thouſand Indian horſe, and ſurrendered his capital, Taxila, the moſt wealthy and populous city between the Indus and Hydaſpes. But the

[9] Arrian, p. 100 & 103, leaves it uncertain in what manner the bridge was conſtructed. Neither that accurate writer, nor the other careleſs deſcribers of the exploits of Alexander, aſcertain the paſs of the Indus, at which the Macedonians croſſed that river. Major Rennel, late ſurveyor-general of Bengal, has the following obſervations in his admirable memoir on the map of Indoſtan: "I take it for granted, that Alexander croſſed the Indus at the place where the city of Attock now ſtands; as it appears to have been in all ages the paſs on the Indus leading from the countries of Cabul and Candahar into India. . . . Attock muſt then ſtand on the ſite of the Taxila of Alexander. From thence, as his intention ſeems to have been to penetrate by the ſhorteſt way to the Ganges, he would proceed by the ordinary road to that part of the bank of the Hydaſpes (or Behat) where the fortraſs of Rotas now ſtands; and here he put in execution his ſtratagem for croſſing the river, whilſt the oppoſite ſhore was poſſeſſed by Porus." Of which more in the text.

King,

King, who never allowed himſelf to be outdone in generoſity, reſtored and augmented the dominions of Taxiles. CHAP. XXXIX.

Prepares to paſs the Hydaſpes, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of Porus.

The army croſſed the Indus about the time of the ſummer ſolſtice, at which ſeaſon the Indian rivers are ſwelled by heavy rains, as well as by the melted ſnow, which deſcends in torrents from Paropamiſus. Truſting to this circumſtance, Porus, a powerful and warlike prince, had encamped on the Shantrou, or Hydaſpes, with thirty thouſand foot, four thouſand horſe, three hundred armed chariots, and two hundred elephants. At an inconſiderable diſtance from the main body, his ſon commanded a detachment, conſiſting of the ſame kind of forces, which were all well accoutred and excellently diſciplined. Alexander perceived the difficulty of paſſing the Hydaſpes in the face of this formidable hoſt; a difficulty which muſt be greatly increaſed by the elephants, whoſe noiſe, and ſmell, and aſpect, were alike terrible to cavalry. He therefore collected proviſions on the oppoſite bank, and induſtriouſly gave out that he purpoſed to delay paſſing the river till a more favourable ſeaſon. This artifice deluded not the Indians; and Porus kept his poſt. The King next had recourſe to a different ſtratagem. Having poſted his cavalry in ſeparate detachments along the river, he commanded them to raiſe in the night loud ſhouts of war, and to fill the bank with agitation and tumult, as if they had determined at all hazards to effect their paſſage. The noiſe rouſed the enemy, and Porus conducted his elephants where-

CHAP. XXXIX.

wherever the danger threatened. This ſcene was repeated ſeveral ſucceſſive nights; during which the Barbarians were fatigued and haraſſed by perpetual alarms. Porus diſcovering, as he fondly believed, that nothing was intended by this vain noiſe, but merely to diſturb his repoſe, at length deſiſted from following the motions of the Macedonian cavalry, and remained quiet in his encampment, having ſtationed proper guards on the bank [10].

Diſpoſitions for that purpoſe.

The falſe ſecurity of Porus enabled Alexander to effect his long-meditated purpoſe. At the diſtance of about eighteen miles from his camp, and at the principal winding of the Hydaſpes, there ſtood a lofty rock, thickly covered with trees; and near to this rock, an iſland, likewiſe over-run with wood and uninhabited. Such ſcenery was favourable for concealment: it immediately ſuggeſted to Alexander the deſign of paſſing the river with a ſtrong detachment, which he reſolved to command in perſon, as he ſeldom did by others what he could himſelf perform; and, amidſt the variety of operations, always claimed for his own, the taſk of importance or danger. The Macedonian phalanx, the new levies from Paropamiſus, together with the Indian auxiliaries, and one diviſion of the cavalry, remained under the command of Craterus. They had orders to amuſe the enemy by making fires in the night, and by preparing openly, during day time, to croſs the Hydaſpes. While

[10] Arrian, l. v. p. 107. & ſeqq.

theſe

CHAP. XXXIX.

theſe operations were carrying on by Craterus, Alexander, having collected hides and boats, marched up the country with a choice body of light infantry, the Archers and Agrians, the Bactrian, Scythian, and Parthian [11] cavalry, together with a due proportion of heavy-armed troops; the whole a well-aſſorted brigade, adapted to every mode of warfare required by the nature of the ground, the arms or diſpoſition of the enemy. Having receded from the bank to a diſtance ſufficiently remote for eluding the obſervation of Porus, he advanced towards the rock and iſland; and in this ſecure poſt prepared to embark, after taking ſuch precautions againſt the viciſſitudes of war and fortune, as could be ſuggeſted only by the moſt profound military genius. The orders given to Craterus were preciſe: ſhould the Indians perceive, and endeavour to interrupt the paſſage to the rock and iſland, he was in that caſe to haſten over with his cavalry; otherwiſe not to ſtir from his poſt, until he obſerved Porus advancing againſt Alexander, or flying from the field. At an equal diſtance between the bank where Alexander meant to paſs, and the camp where Craterus lay, Attalus and Meleager were poſted with a powerful body of mercenaries, conſiſting chiefly of Indian mountaineers, who had been defeated by the Macedonians, and taken into pay by the conqueror. To provide for any unforeſeen accident, ſentinels

[11] Arrian calls them the Dahæ; they were ἱπποτοξόται, "archers on horſeback." Arrian, l. v. p 109.

were

CHAP. XXXIX.

were placed along the bank, at convenient diſtances, to obſerve and repeat ſignals.

The paſſage effected.

Fortune favoured theſe judicious diſpoſitions. A violent tempeſt concealed from the enemy's outguards the tumult of preparation; the claſh of armour and the voice of command being overpowered by the complicated craſh of rain and thunder. When the ſtorm ſomewhat abated, the horſe and infantry, in ſuch proportions as both the boats and hides could convey, paſſed over, unperceived, into the iſland. Alexander led the line, accompanied in his veſſel of thirty oars by Seleucus, Ptolemy, Perdiccas, and Lyſimachus; names deſtined to fill the ancient world, when their renown was no longer repreſſed by the overwhelming greatneſs of their maſter's glory.

The King firſt reached the oppoſite bank, in ſight of the enemy's out-guards, who haſtened, in trepidation, to convey the unwelcome intelligence to Porus. The Macedonians meanwhile formed in order of battle; but, before meeting their enemies, they had to ſtruggle with an unforeſeen difficulty. The coaſt on which he landed was the ſhore of another iſland, disjoined from the continent by a river commonly fordable, but actually ſo much ſwelled by the rains of the preceding night, that the water reached the breaſts of the men, and the necks of the horſes. Having paſſed this dangerous ſtream with his cavalry and targeteers, Alexander advanced with all poſſible expedition, conſidering, that ſhould Porus offer battle, theſe forces

forces would reſiſt till joined by the heavy infantry; but ſhould the Indians be ſtruck with panic at his unexpected paſſage of the Hydaſpes, the light-armed troops would thus be in time to attack and purſue them with advantage. CHAP. XXXIX.

Upon the firſt alarm given by his out-guards, Porus detached his ſon to oppoſe the landing of the enemy with two thouſand horſe, and one hundred and twenty armed chariots. Theſe forces, arriving too late to defend the bank, were ſpeedily broken and put to flight by the equeſtrian archers; their leader and four hundred horſemen were ſlain; moſt of the chariots were taken, the ſlime of the river, which rendered them unſerviceable in the action, likewiſe interrupting their flight. Porus's ſon defeated and ſlain.

The ſad news of this diſcomfiture deeply afflicted Porus; but his immediate danger allowed not time for reflection. Craterus viſibly prepared to paſs the river, and to attack him in front; his flanks were threatened with the ſhock of the Macedonian horſe, elated by recent victory. In this emergency the Indian appears to have acted with equal prudence and firmneſs. Unable to oppoſe this complicated aſſault, he left part of the elephants under a ſmall guard, to frighten rather than reſiſt, Craterus's cavalry; while, at the head of his whole army, he marched in perſon to meet the more formidable diviſion of his enemies, commanded by their King. His horſe amounted to four, and his foot to thirty, thouſand; but the part of his ſtrength in which he ſeemed moſt to confide, conſiſted of three hundred armed chariots, and Diſpoſitions made by Porus for reſiſting the enemy.

CHAP. XXXIX.

two hundred elephants. With theſe forces, Porus advanced, until he found a plain ſufficiently dry and firm for his chariots to wheel. He then arranged his elephants at intervals of an hundred feet: in theſe intervals he placed his infantry, a little behind the line. By this order of battle, he expected to intimidate the enemy, ſince their horſe, he thought, would be deterred from advancing at ſight of the elephants; and their infantry, he imagined, would not venture to attack the Indians in front, while they muſt be themſelves expoſed to be attacked in flank, and trampled under foot by thoſe terrible animals. At either extremity of the line, the elephants bore huge wooden towers, filled with armed men. The cavalry formed the wings, covered in front with the armed chariots.

Skilful manœuvres of the Macedonian army.

Alexander by this time appeared at the head of the royal cohort, and equeſtrian archers. Perceiving that the enemy had already prepared for battle, he commanded a halt, until the heavy-armed troops ſhould join. This being effected, he allowed them time to reſt and recover ſtrength, carefully encircling them with the cavalry; and meanwhile examined, with his uſual diligence, the diſpoſition of the Indians. Upon obſerving their order of battle, he immediately determined not to attack them in front, in order to avoid encountering the difficulties which Porus had artfully thrown in his way; and at once reſolved on an operation, which, with ſuch troops as thoſe whom he commanded, could ſcarcely fail to prove deciſive.

CHAP. XXXIX.

ciſive. By intricate and ſkilful manœuvres, altogether unintelligible to the Indians, he moved imperceptibly towards their left wing with the flower of his cavalry. The remainder, conducted by Cænus, ſtretched towards the right, having orders to wheel at a given diſtance, that they might attack the Indians in rear, ſhould they wait to receive the ſhock of Alexander's ſquadrons. A thouſand equeſtrian archers directed their rapid courſe towards the ſame wing; while the Macedonian foot remained firm in its poſt, waiting the event of this complicated aſſault, which appears to have been conducted with the moſt preciſe obſervance of time and diſtance.

The battle of the Hydaſpes.

The Indian horſe, haraſſed by the equeſtrian archers, and expoſed to the danger of being ſurrounded, were obliged to form into two diviſions, of which one prepared to reſiſt Alexander, and the other faced about to meet Cænus. But this evolution ſo much diſordered their ranks and dejected their courage, that they were totally unable to ſtand the ſhock of the Macedonian cavalry, which ſurpaſſed them as much in ſtrength and ſpirit, as it excelled them in diſcipline. The fugitives took refuge, as behind a line of friendly towers, in the intervals that had been left between the elephants. Theſe fierce animals were then conducted againſt the enemy's horſe; which movement was no ſooner obſerved by the infantry, than they ſeaſonably advanced, and galled the aſſailants with darts and arrows. Wherever the elephants turned, the Macedonians opened their ranks, finding it dangerous

CHAP. XXXIX.

to reſiſt them with a cloſe and deep phalanx. Meanwhile, the Indian cavalry rallied, and were repelled with greater loſs than before. They again ſought the ſame friendly retreat; but their flight was now intercepted, and themſelves almoſt intirely ſurrounded, by the Macedonian horſe; at the ſame time that the elephants, having loſt their riders, enraged at being pent up within a narrow ſpace, and furious through their wounds, proved more formidable to friends than foes, becauſe the Macedonians, having the advantage of an open ground, could every where give vent to their fury [11].

The Indians defeated.

The battle was decided before the diviſion, under Craterus, paſſed the river. But the arrival of theſe freſh troops rendered the purſuit peculiarly deſtructive. The unfortunate Porus loſt both his ſons, all his captains, twenty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe. The elephants, ſpent with fatigue, were ſlain or taken; even the armed chariots were hacked in pieces, having proved formidable in ſhow only, could we believe that little more than three hundred men periſhed on the ſide of Alexander. An obvious inconſiſtency too often appears in the hiſtorians of that conqueror [12]. With a view to enhance his merit, they deſcribe and exaggerate the valour and reſiſtance of his enemies;

[11] Arrian, p.112.

[12] See Arrian, p.113. The obſervation applies not, however, to that hiſtorian, but rather to Ptolemy and Ariſtobulus, from whom he derived his materials, nor could it be expected that thoſe generals ſhould preſerve perfect impartiality in relating the exploits of a maſter whom they admired.

but.

but, in computing the numbers of the ſlain, they become averſe to allow this valour and reſiſtance to have produced their adequate effects.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Courage and magnanimity of Porus.

The Indian King having behaved with great gallantry in the engagement, was the laſt to leave the field. His flight being retarded by his wounds, he was overtaken by Taxiles, whom Alexander entruſted with the care of ſeizing him alive. But Porus, perceiving the approach of a man, who had long been his enemy, turned his elephant, and prepared to renew the combat. Alexander then diſpatched to him Meroé, an Indian of diſtinction, who, he underſtood, had formerly lived with Porus in habits of friendſhip. By the entreaties of Meroé, the high-minded prince, ſpent with thirſt and fatigue, was finally perſuaded to ſurrender; and being refreſhed with drink and repoſe, was conducted into the preſence of the conqueror. Alexander admired his ſtature (for he was above ſeven feet high) and the majeſty of his perſon; but he admired ſtill more his courage and magnanimity. Having aſked in what he could oblige him? Porus anſwered, "By acting like a King." "That," ſaid Alexander with a ſmile, "I ſhould do for my own ſake, but what can I do for yours?" Porus replied, "All my wiſhes are contained in that one requeſt [13]." None ever

Rewarded by Alexander.

[13] The modern hiſtories of Alexander univerſally miſrepreſent this conference. All of them, as far as I know, make Porus ſay, "that he deſires to be treated like a King:" an explanation which cannot be reconciled with Alexander's reply, Γουτο μεν εϛαι σοι Πωρ. εμου ἑνεκα· συ δε σ'αυτου ἑνεκα ὁ, τι σοι φιλον αξιου ἐ

"I will

CHAP. XXXIX.

ever diſcerned virtue better than Alexander, or was more ſtudious to reward it. Struck with the firmneſs of Porus, he declared him reinſtated on his throne; acknowledged him for his ally and his friend; and, having ſoon afterwards received the ſubmiſſion of the Glauſæ, who poſſeſſed thirty-ſeven cities on his eaſtern frontier, the leaſt of which contained five thouſand, and many of the greateſt above ten thouſand inhabitants, he added this populous province to the dominions of his new confederate. Immediately after the battle, he interred the ſlain, performed the accuſtomed ſacrifices, and exhibited gymnaſtic and equeſtrian games on the banks of the Hydaſpes. Before leaving that river, he founded two cities, Nicæa and Bucephalia: the former was ſo called, to commemorate the victory gained near the place where it ſtood; the latter, ſituate on the oppoſite bank, was named in honour of his horſe Bucephalus [14], who died there, worn out by age and fatigue. A large diviſion of the army remained under the command of Craterus, to build and fortify theſe new cities.

Foundation of Nicæa and Bucephalia.

"I will act towards you, O Porus! as becomes a King, on my own account: but what do you deſire that I ſhould do on your's?"

[14] "This generous animal, who had ſo long ſhared the toils and dangers of his maſter, had formerly received ſignal marks of royal regard. Having diſappeared in the country of the Uxii, Alexander iſſued a proclamation, commanding his horſe to be reſtored, otherwiſe he would ravage the whole country with fire and ſword. This command was immediately obeyed. "So dear," ſays Arrian, "was Bucephalus to Alexander, and ſo terrible was Alexander to the Barbarians." Arrian, p. 114.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Alexander passes the Aceſines and Hydraotes.

In promoting the ſucceſs of Alexander, the fame of his generoſity conſpired with the force of his arms. Without encountering any memorable reſiſtance, he reduced the dominions of another prince named Porus, and the valuable country between the Aceſines and the Hydraotes. In effecting this conqueſt, the obſtacles of nature were the principal, or rather the only, enemies, with whom he had to contend. The river Aceſines, fifteen furlongs broad, is deep and rapid; many parts of its channel are filled with large and ſharp rocks, which, oppoſing the rapidity of the ſtream, occaſion loud and foaming billows, mixed with boiling eddies and whirlpools, equally frightful, and ſtill more dangerous. Of the Macedonians, who attempted to paſs in boats, many drove againſt the rocks, and periſhed; but ſuch as employed hides, reached the oppoſite ſhore in ſafety. The Hydraotes is of the ſame breadth with the Aceſines, but flows with a gentle current. On its eaſtern bank, Alexander learned that the Cathaei, Malli, and other independent Indian tribes, prepared to reſiſt his progreſs. They had encamped on the ſide of the hill, near the city Sangala, two days march from the Hydraotes; and, inſtead of a breaſt-work, had fortified themſelves with a triple row of carriages. Alexander advanced with his cavalry; the Indians ſtirred not from their poſt, but, mounting their carriages, poured forth a ſhower of miſſile weapons. Alexander perceiving the cavalry unfit for ſuch a warfare, immediately diſmounted, and conducted a battalion of foot

CHAP. XXXIX.

againſt the enemy. The lines were attacked, where weakeſt; ſome paſſages were opened; the Macedonians ruſhed in; and the Indians, being ſucceſſively driven from their triple barrier, fled in precipitation to Sangala.

Sangala beſieged and taken.

The walls of that place were too extenſive to be completely inveſted. On one ſide, the town was ſkirted by a lake, long and broad, but not deep. Alexander ſuſpecting that the Indians, intimidated by their former defeat, would attempt to eſcape in the night, cauſed the lake to be ſurrounded with his cavalry. This precaution was attended with ſucceſs. The foremoſt of the Indians were cut to pieces by the advanced guards of the Macedonian horſe; the reſt eſcaped with difficulty to Sangala. Alexander then ſurrounded the greateſt part of the town with a rampart and a ditch, and prepared to advance his engines to batter the walls, when he was informed by ſome deſerters, that the enemy ſtill reſolved, that very night, to ſteal, if poſſible, through the lake; if not, to force their way with their whole ſtrength. Upon this intelligence Alexander poſted Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus, with three thouſand targeteers, one troop of archers, and all the Agrians, upon the ſpot where he ſagaciouſly conjectured that the beſieged would attempt to force their paſſage. At the firſt ſound of the trumpet, the other commanders were to advance to the aſſiſtance of Ptolemy. Alexander declared his intention to ſhare the common danger. By this judicious diſpoſition, the enemy were ſucceſsfully repelled, after leaving five hundred

men on the place. Meanwhile Porus, Alexander's principal ally in thoſe parts, arrived in the camp with five thouſand Indians, and a conſiderable number of elephants. Encouraged by this reinforcement, the Macedonians prepared to terminate the ſiege. The engines were got ready; the wall, built of brick, was undermined; the ſcaling ladders were fixed; ſeveral breaches were made; and the town was taken by aſſault. Seventeen thouſand Indians are ſaid to have periſhed in the ſack of Sangala; above ſeventy thouſand were taken priſoners; Sangala was razed: its confederates ſubmitted or fled. Above an hundred Macedonians fell in the ſiege or aſſault; twelve hundred were wounded. CHAP. XXXIX.

Eaſtern boundary of Alexander's conqueſts.

The perſevering intrepidity of Alexander thus rendered him maſter of the valuable country, now called the Punjab, watered by the five great ſtreams whoſe confluence forms the Indus[15]. The banks of the Hyphaſis, the moſt eaſtern of theſe rivers, which he actually intended to croſs, allured by the flattering deſcription of the adjoining territory,

[15] The Gentoos diſtinguiſh Alexander by the epithets of Mhaahah, Dukkoyt, and Koonneah, "the great robber and aſſaſſin;" but moſt of the Oriental traditions are highly honourable to that prince, and extol his humanity not leſs than his proweſs. The high idea entertained of him by the Indians, appears from their aſcribing to his taſte and magnificence the moſt remarkable monuments ſcattered over their immenſe country. See l'Examen Critique, p. 143, & ſeqq. M. Anquetil's Zend Aveſta, t. i. p. 392. and Mr. Howell's Religion of the Gentoos, P. ii. p. 5.

CHAP. XXXIX.

were adorned by twelve Macedonian altars, equal in height, and exceeding in bulk, the greateſt towers in that country. Theſe monuments, erected midway between Dehli and Lahor[16], marked the extremity

[16] Probably near the place where the great weſtern road paſſes between thoſe cities. See D'Anville Geogr. Ancienne, and Gibbon's Hiſt. vol. i. c. ii. Major Rennel, however, in his admirable Memoir on the new Map of Hindoſtan, aſſigns reaſons for believing that Alexander was not ſo high up the river. "After croſſing," ſays he, "the Aceſines, or Jenaub, and the Hydraotes or Ravee, which latter he may be ſuppoſed to croſs at the place where Lahor now ſtands, he appears to be drawn out of the direct route towards the Ganges, to attack the city of Sangala, moſt probably lying between Lahor and Moultan. From Sangala he proceeded to the Hyphaſis, or Setlege, moſt probably between Adjodin and Debalpour, by the circumſtance of the deſerts lying between him and the Ganges; for the country between the Beath and the Ganges is fertile and well inhabited, but that between the lower parts of the Setlege and the Ganges, has really a deſert in it, as Timur experienced in his march from Adjodin to Bainir. The diſtance between Alexander's poſition on the Hyphaſis and the Jumma, as given by Pliny, accords with this opinion. He gives it as three hundred and thirty-ſix Roman miles, which, by a proper proportional ſcale, formed from his diſtances in known places, reaches from the banks of the Jumma to a point a little below the conflux of the Beath and Setlege. But had Alexander been as high up the river as the place where the great weſtern road croſſes from Lahor to Delhi, he would have been only two hundred and fifty ſuch miles from the Jumma. This opinion is ſtrengthened by the account of what happened immediately after; I mean his recroſſing the Hydraotes, and then encamping on the bank of the Aceſines, in a low ſituation, and where the whole country was flooded on the coming on of the periodical rains; which circumſtance obliged him to move his camp higher up the river, into a more elevated country. This agrees perfectly with the deſcription of the country. The lower parts of the courſes of the Jenaub and Ravee are really through a low country; and theſe are alſo the parts neareſt to Adjodin and Debalpour, between which places, I ſuppoſe, Alexander's altars were erected." The deſert on the eaſtern bank

CHAP. XXXIX.

extremity of Alexander's empire; an empire thus limited, not by the difficulties of the country, or the oppoſition of enemies, but by the immoveable and unanimous reſolution of his European troops.

Alexander ſails down the Hydaſpes, accompanied by his army. Olymp. cxiii. 3. A. C. 326.

Invincible by his enemies, Alexander ſubmitted to his friends, at whoſe deſire he ſet bounds to his trophies in the Eaſt. But his reſtleſs curioſity prepared new toils and dangers for the army and himſelf. Having returned to the cities Nicæa and Bucephalia, he divided his forces, for the ſake of exploring more carefully the unknown regions of India. Two diviſions, reſpectively commanded by Craterus and Hephæſtion (for Cænus was now dead), had orders to march ſouthward along the oppoſite banks of the Hydaſpes. Philip, to whom he had committed the government of the provinces adjacent to Bactria, was recalled with the troops under his command; and the whole Macedonian conqueſts in India, including ſeven nations and above two thouſand cities, were ſubjected to

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bank of the Hyphaſis, between Alexander and the Ganges, is to be found in Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 612. and in the romantic deſcription of Curtius, l. ix. c. ii. The exiſtence of ſuch a deſert, at the extremity of Alexander's conqueſts, is ſcarcely reconcileable with Arrian, l. v. p. 119. who ſays, "that the country beyond the Hyphaſis was rich and fertile, the inhabitants induſtrious and brave, governed by a moderate ariſtocracy; flouriſhing in peace and plenty, poſſeſſing a great number of elephants, and thoſe of ſuperior ſtrength and ſtature."

the

CHAP. XXXIX.

the dominion of Porus. Meanwhile the Ionians, Cyprians, Phœnicians, and other maritime nations, who followed the ſtandard of Alexander, induſtriouſly built, or collected, above two thouſand veſſels[17], for ſailing down the Hydaſpes till its junction with the Indus, and thence along that majeſtic ſtream to the Indian ocean. On

[17] "It may appear extraordinary," ſays Mr. Rennel, "that Alexander ſhould, in the courſe of a few months, prepare ſo vaſt a fleet for his voyage down the Indus; eſpecially as it is ſaid to be the work of his army. But the Punjab country, like that of Bengal, is full of navigable rivers, which, communicating with the Indus, form an uninterrupted navigation from Caſhmere to Tatta, and no doubt abounded with boats and veſſels ready conſtructed to the conqueror's hands. I think it probable too, that the veſſels in which Nearchus performed his coaſting voyage to the gulf of Perſia, were found in the Indus. Veſſels of one hundred and eighty tons burden are ſometimes uſed in the Ganges; and thoſe of one hundred not unfrequently." It is worthy of obſervation, that this judicious conjecture of Mr. Rennel is juſtified by the words of Arrian. In ſpeaking of the number of veſſels, he ſays, και ὁσα αλλα ποταμια, η των παλαι πλεοντων κατα τους ποταμους, η εν τῳ τοτε ποιηθεντων, p. 124. The veſſels employed by Alexander appear, therefore, to have been partly collected on the Indian rivers, and partly conſtructed for the occaſion. They were, 1. Long ſhips for the purpoſe of war; 2. Round ſhips, for carrying proviſions, baggage, &c; and, 3. ἱππαγωγα πλοια, veſſels for tranſporting horſes. Mr. Rennel's conjecture can only relate to the ſhips of burden. That the two other kinds were built by the Ionians and iſlanders, appears from Arrian, p. 124, & 181. The account of Alexander's embarkation, given in Arrian's expedition of Alexander, as well as in his Indian hiſtory, is inconſiſtent with the relation of Curtius, l. ix. c. iii. with that of Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 563. and that of Juſtin, l. xii. c. ix. The narrative of Arrian is, however, confirmed by Strabo, l. xv. p. 1023. That accurate geographer informs us, that the fleet was conſtructed near the cities which Alexander had built on each ſide the Hydaſpes; and that the timber, chiefly pine, fir, and cedar, was brought from a wood near to Mount

board

board this fleet the King embarked in perſon with the third diviſion of his forces. His navigation employed ſeveral months, being frequently retarded by hoſtilities with the natives, particularly the warlike tribe of the Malli. Theſe Barbarians were driven from the open country; their cities were ſucceſſively beſieged and taken; but, at the ſtorm of their capital, a ſcene was tranſacted, which betrayed temerity in Alexander, and which would have indicated madneſs in any other general. CHAP. XXXIX.

Extraordinary adventure in beſieging the Mallian fortreſs.

When their ſtreets were filled with the enemy, the Malli took refuge in their citadel. This fortreſs was defended by a thick wall, which, being thrown around the declivity of a mountain, was extremely lofty without, but towards the inner circumference of an inconſiderable height. Alexander, provoked by the obſtinacy of the Indians, commanded the ſcaling-ladders to be applied with all poſſible expedition. But this ſervice being performed more tardily than uſual, the King, in his anger, ſnatched a ladder from one who carried it, and having faſtened it to the wall, mounted with rapidity in defiance of the enemy's weapons. The Macedonians, alarmed by the danger of their general, followed in ſuch numbers, that the ladder broke as Alexander reached the ſummit; the ſame accident happened to other ladders which were haſtily applied, and injudiciouſly crowded. For ſome moments, the King thus remained alone on the wall, conſpicuous by the brightneſs of his

CHAP. XXXIX.

arms, and the *extravagance*[11] of his valour, expoſed to thick vollies of hoſtile darts from the adjacent towers. His reſolution, more than daring, was in his circumſtances wiſe. At one bound he ſprang into the place, and poſting himſelf at the wall, ſlew the chief of the Malli, and three others, who ventured to aſſault him. Meanwhile Abreas, Leonnatus, and Peuceſtes, the Macedonians who next reached the ſummit, imitated the example of Alexander. Abreas was wounded and fell; his companions, regardleſs of their own ſafety, defended the King, whoſe breaſt had been pierced with an arrow. They were ſoon covered with wounds, and Alexander ſeemed ready to expire. By this time, the Macedonians had burſt through the gates of the place. Their firſt concern was to carry off the King; the ſecond to revenge his death, for they believed the wound to be mortal, as breath iſſued forth with his blood. Some report, that the weapon was extracted by Critodemus of Cos; others, that no ſurgeon being near, Perdiccas, of the life-guards, opened the wound with his ſword, by his maſter's command. The great effuſion of blood threatened his immediate diſſolution; but a ſeaſonable fainting fit, ſuſpending the circulation, ſtopped the diſcharge of blood, and ſaved the life of Alexander. The affectionate admiration in which he was held by his troops, appeared in their gloomy-

[11] Το ατοπον της τολμης; literally, "the abſurdity of his valour;" could our idiom admit ſuch an expreſſion; ατοπος properly ſignifies "what has no place in nature." It is commonly tranſlated *abſurd*, but may here mean *ſupernatural*.

ſadneſs

CHAP. XXXIX.

ſadneſs during his danger, and their immoderate joy at his recovery [19].

Marches through the Gedroſian deſert. Olymp. cxiii. 4. A.C. 325.

Having performed his intended voyage to the ocean, and provided neceſſaries for a long march, Alexander determined to proceed towards Perſepolis, through the barren ſolitudes of Gedroſia. This arduous deſign was not inſpired by an idle ambition to ſurpaſs the exploits of Cyrus and Semiramis, whoſe armies were ſaid to have periſhed in thoſe deſerts, but prompted by the neceſſity of ſupplying with water, the firſt European fleet which navigated the Indian ſea, explored the Perſian gulph, and examined the mouths of the Euphrates and the Tigris. This important voyage was performed, and afterwards related, by Nearchus [20], whoſe enterpriſing genius was worthy of the maſter whom he ſerved. In diſcovering the ſea and the land, the fleet and army of Alexander mutually aſſiſted each other. By the example of the King, both were taught to

Voyage of Nearchus.

[19] The extraordinary adventure related in the text, is ſaid by Curtius, l. ix. c. iv. to have happened in ſtorming a city of the Oxydracæ. Lucian (Dial. mort.) & Pauſan. (Attic.) agree with Curtius. But theſe are feeble authorities compared with Arrian, l. vi. p. 127, & ſeqq. & Strabo, l. xvii. p. 1026.

[20] Nearchus was a native of Crete, but had long reſided in Amphipolis. The journal of his celebrated voyage from the mouth of the Indus to that of the Euphrates, is preſerved in Arrian's Indian hiſtory, from c. xx. to c. xli. inclusively. Five months were employed in this voyage, during three of which the fleet kept the ſea. Nearchus ſailed in the month of September, and arrived in April in the Euphrates. Arrian. Hiſt. Indic. c. 20, & ſeqq. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. vi. c. xxiii. The relation of this illuſtrious admiral has been called in queſtion by Dodwell, Hardouin, and Huet; but its authenticity is aſſerted by the beſt critics, and confirmed by all the beſt modern geographers.

deſpiſe

CHAP. XXXIX.

deſpiſe toil and danger. On foot, and encumbered with his armour, he traverſed the tempeſtuous ſands of the Perſian coaſt, ſharing the hunger, thirſt, and fatigue of the meaneſt ſoldier [21]; nor was it till after a march of two months, diſtinguiſhed by unexampled hardſhips, that the army emerged into the cultivated province of Carmania.

Alexander is joined in Carmania by various diviſions of his army.

In this country Alexander was met by a diviſion of his forces, which he had ſent under the command of Craterus through the territories of the Arii and Drangæ. Staſanor and Phrataphernes, governors of thoſe warlike nations, and of the more northern provinces of Parthia and Hyrcania, brought a ſeaſonable ſupply of camels and other beaſts of burthen, to relieve the exigencies of an army enfeebled by diſeaſe and exhauſted by fatigue. The waſte of men, occaſioned by this unhappy expedition [22], was repaired by the ar-

[21] Parties were continually employed, on all ſides, in ſearching for water. On one occaſion, they were more unfortunate than uſual; the heat of the ſun was exceſſive, and reflected by the ſcorching ſand; Alexander marched on foot, parched with thirſt, exhauſted by fatigue, and oppreſſed by care. Amidſt theſe diſtreſsful circumſtances, ſome ſoldiers diſcovering a ſmall quantity of turbid water brought it in great haſte to the King. He received the preſent with thanks, then poured it on the ground; and the water, thus ſpilt, refreſhed not only Alexander, but the whole army. Arrian, p. 141.

[22] Plutarch ſays, that the march through Gedroſia coſt Alexander near one hundred thouſand men; a palpable exaggeration, ſince he ſuppoſes the whole army, at their departure from India, to have amounted to one hundred and twenty thouſand foot, and fifteen thouſand horſe, of which one diviſion embarked with Nearchus, and another marched, under the command of Craterus, through the territories of the Arii and Drangæ; little more than a third part of the whole number entered the Gedroſian deſerts.

rival

CHAP. XXXIX.

rival of numerous battalions from Media, which rendered the ſtandard of Alexander ſufficiently reſpectable. Cleander and Sitalus, the commanders of thoſe forces, were accuſed by the Medes of deſpoiling their temples, ranſacking their tombs, and committing other deteſtable deeds of avarice and cruelty. Their own ſoldiers confirmed the accuſation; and their crimes were puniſhed with death. This prompt juſtice gave immediate ſatisfaction, and ſerved as a ſalutary example in future; for, of all the rules of government, practiſed by this illuſtrious conqueror, none had a ſtronger tendency to confirm his authority, and conſolidate his empire, than his vigilance to reſtrain the rapacity of his lieutenants, and to defend his ſubjects from oppreſſion [73].

He puniſhes the miſconduct of his generals.

Among the fables which give the air of romance to the memorable exploits of Alexander, we may reckon the triumphant proceſſion through Carmania. In imitation of Bacchus, Alexander is ſaid to have traverſed this province, amidſt dancing and muſic, crowned with flowers, intoxicated with wine, and indulging, with his followers, the utmoſt extravagance of diſorder and folly [74]. The revel continued ſeven days, during which a ſmall body

Improbable account of the march through Carmania.

[73] Και τουτο, ωπερ τι αλλο, κατισχυεν εν κοσμω τα εθνη τα εξ Αλεξανδρου, δυσναλωτα, η ἑκοντα προσχωρησαντα, τοσαυτα μεν πληθει ὀντα, τοσον δε αλληλων αφεστηκοτα· ὁτι δε εξην ὑπο τη Αλεξανδρου Βασιλειᾳ αδικεισθαι τους αρχομενους ὑπο των αρχοντων. Arrian, l. vi. p. 143. "This, eſpecially, kept in awe the nations that were either ſubdued by Alexander, or that voluntarily ſubmitted to him (numerous and remote as they were); that under the reign of this prince, the governors durſt not injure the governed."

[74] Plut. in Alexand. Diodor. p. 573.

of

CHAP. XXXIX.

of ſober men might have overwhelmed this army of bacchanals, and avenged the cauſe of Darius and of Aſia [25]. Were not this improbable fiction diſcountenanced by the ſilence of contemporary writers [26], it would be refuted by its own abſurdity. Inſtead of yielding to the tranſports of mad joy, Alexander, whoſe heart was extremely ſuſceptible of compaſſion, muſt have been deeply afflicted by the recent loſs of ſo many brave men; and the neceſſity of his affairs, to which he was ever duly attentive, admitted not of unſeaſonable delay.

Puniſhment of the governors of Babylon, Perſepolis, and Suſa.

Encouraged by the long abſence of their maſter, and the perils to which his too adventurous character continually expoſed his life, Harpalus, Orſines, and Abulites, who were reſpectively governors of Babylon, Perſepolis, and Suſa, began to deſpiſe his orders, and to act as independent princes, rather than accountable miniſters. In ſuch emergencies, Alexander knew by experience the advantage of celerity. He therefore divided his army. The greater part of the heavy-armed troops were entruſted to Hephæſtion, with orders to proceed along the ſea-coaſt, and to attend the motions of the fleet commanded by Nearchus. With the remainder, the King haſtened to Paſargadæ. Orſines was convicted of many enormous crimes, which were puniſhed with as enormous ſeverity [27].

[25] Curtius, l. ix. c. x.

[26] Arrian informs us, that neither Ptolemy nor Ariſtobulus make the leaſt mention of this extraordinary tranſaction, which he treats with proper contempt. Vid. Arrian, p. 143.

[27] Arrian, who excuſes Alexander's adopting the Perſian manners, repeatedly blames him for imitating the Barbarian puniſhments.

Baryaxes,

CHAP. XXXIX.

Baryaxes, a Mede, who had assumed the royal tiara, suffered death; his numerous adherents shared his fate. The return of Alexander from the east proved fatal to Abulites, and his son Oxathres, who, during the absence of their master, had cruelly oppressed the wealthy province of Susiana, and particularly the inhabitants of the capital. Harpalus, whose conduct at Babylon had proved equally flagitious, escaped with his treasures to Athens: the avarice of the Athenians engaged them to receive this wealthy fugitive; but their fears forbade them to harbour the enemy of Alexander. By a decree of the people, he was expelled from Attica, and this traitor to the most generous of princes seems himself to have been soon afterwards treacherously slain[28]. The brave Peucestes, who had saved Alexander's life at the assault of the Mallian fortress, was promoted to the government of Persia. In this important command, he shewed that the virtues of sound policy are not incompatible with the most adventurous valour.

Peucestes rewarded.

[28] Comp. Curtius, l. 10. c. ii. Plut. Diodor. writers omit
l. xviii. p. 19. Strabo, l. xvii. he pardon of
the first crime of Harpalus, ma Harpalus,
which does great honour to the is illus-
even in the life time of him as
trious son, who, soon minister
his treasurer. But hefe lily
betrayed his trust, and fled to Me
to condemn an he has
ment of Phili nanied his
counsels of Taurisc
flight. After the death of Ta
to return to his service, and again entrusted him with the custody of his treasures. Arrian, l. iii. c. vi.

CHAP. XXXIX.

By conforming to the cuſtoms, adopting the manners, and uſing the language of the vanquiſhed, he acquired the affectionate reſpect of the people committed to his care. His pliant condeſcenſion, directed by ſound policy, was highly approved by the diſcernment of Alexander; but his affectation of foreign manners greatly offended the pride of his Macedonian countrymen.

Alexander improves the internal ſtate of his conqueſts. Olymp. cxii. 4. A. C. 325.

In the central provinces of his empire, which from time immemorial had been the ſeat of Aſiatic pomp and luxury, Alexander ſpent the laſt, and not the leaſt glorious, year of his reign. In the nervous language of antiquity, the world was ſilent in his preſence; and his only remaining care was to improve and conſolidate his conqueſts. For theſe important purpoſes, he carefully examined the courſe of the Eulæus, the Tigris, and the Euphrates; and the indefatigable induſtry of his troops was judiciouſly employed in removing the weirs, or dams, by which the timid ignorance of the Perſian Kings, and their jealouſy of the mutinous Babylonians, had obſtructed the navigation of thoſe great rivers. But Alexander, having no reaſon to dread fleets of war, wiſhed to invite thoſe of commerce. The harbours were repaired; arſenals were conſtructed; a baſon was formed at Babylon ſufficient to contain a thouſand gallies. By theſe and ſimilar improvements, he expected to facilitate internal intercourſe among his central provinces, while, by opening new channels of communication, he hoped to unite the wealthy countries of Egypt and the Eaſt, with the moſt remote regions of the earth. His ſhips were ſent to explore

CHAP. XXXIX.

plore the Perſian and Arabian gulphs. Archias brought him ſuch accounts of the former, that he determined to plant its ſhores with Grecian colonies. Hieron of Soli proceeded fartheſt in examining the Arabian coaſt; but he found it impoſſible to double the ſouthern extremity of that immenſe peninſula, and ſtill more to remount (as he had been commanded by Alexander) to the city Hieropolis in Egypt. This daring enterpriſe ſeemed to be reſerved for the King in perſon. It is certain, that ſhortly before his death, he took meaſures for examining this great ſouthern gulph, as well as for diſcovering the ſhores of the Caſpian Sea, which, though deſcribed as a vaſt lake by Herodotus, was by many believed to communicate with the Northern Ocean[29].

Sends veſſels to explore the Perſian and Arabian gulphs.

But objects, leſs remote, demanded his more immediate attention. In the winter ſeaſon, the waters of the Euphrates, which produce the extraordinary fertility of Aſſyria[30], are confined within their lofty channel. But in ſpring and ſummer, and eſpecially towards the ſummer ſolſtice, they overflow their banks, and, inſtead of watering, would totally deluge the adjacent territory, unleſs the ſuperfluous moiſture were diſcharged into the great canal of Pallacopas. This artificial river, formed, it is ſaid, by Nebuchadnezzar, commences an hundred miles below Babylon. It is not fed by ſprings, nor repleniſhed from mountain ſnows, but branching from the great trunk of the Eu-

Reſtrains the inundations of the Euphrates.

[29] Arrian, l. vii. p. 158.

[30] "This country," according to Strabo, "is more fertile than any other; producing, it is ſaid, three hundred fold." Strabo, p. 1077.

CHAP. XXXIX.

phrates, moderates its too impetuous ſtream, by diverting it into the ſea, through lakes and marſhes, by various, and for the moſt part, inviſible outlets. But this uſeful contrivance finally defeated its own purpoſe. The Pallacopas gradually ſunk into its ſoft and oozy bed, and the Euphrates, which even originally was much higher than this canal, continued to flow into the new channel, even after the ſeaſon when its waters ceaſe to riſe by the melting of the Armenian ſnows. The diminution of the river rendered it inſufficient to water the fields of Aſſyria; an inconvenience ſeverely felt in a country ſeldom refreſhed by rain. The governors of Babylon attempted unſucceſsfully to remedy the evil, whoſe magnitude juſtly excited the attention of Alexander. From war, the mother of arts, he had learned to improve the benefits of peace. While preparations were making for more diſtant expeditions, he ſailed down the Euphrates; carefully examined the nature of the ſoil; and having diſcovered, at the diſtance of about four miles from the inoculation of the Euphrates and Pallacopas, a hard and rocky bottom, he commanded a canal to be cut there, which ſerved to moderate the inundations at one ſeaſon, without too much draining the waters at another. Having performed this eſſential ſervice to Aſſyria, he followed the courſe of the Pallacopas, and ſurveyed the lakes and marſhes, which guard the Arabian frontiers. In the neighbourhood of his new canal, he obſerved a convenient ſituation for a city, which, being built and fortified, was peopled with thoſe ſuperannuated Greeks, who ſeemed no longer capable

Builds a city near the canal of Pallacopas.

CHAP. XXXIX.

capable of military ſervice, and with ſuch others of their countrymen as thought proper to ſettle in this fertile, though remote, country[31].

Incorporates the Barbarian levies with the Greeks and Macedonians.

Animated by a zeal for public happineſs, Alexander thus traverſed the populous provinces of the Eaſt, and ſucceſſively viſited the imperial cities of Perſepolis, Suſa, Ecbatana, and Babylon. Theſe places, and others of inferior note, were adorned with ſignal marks of his taſte, and reſpectively diſtinguiſhed by tranſactions which diſcover the boldeſt, yet moſt enlightened, views of policy. The important deſign of uniting, by laws and manners, the ſubjects of his extenſive monarchy, was ever preſent to his mind. For this purpoſe, he took care to incorporate in his Barbarian armies the Greeks and Macedonians. In each company, or rather in each diviſion of ſixteen, he joined four Europeans to twelve Aſiatics. In the Macedonian ſquadrons and battalions, he intermixed, on the other hand, ſuch of the Barbarians as were moſt diſtinguiſhed by their ſtrength, their activity, and their merit. Soon after the battle of Arbela, he had given orders to raiſe new levies in the conquered provinces. The Barbarian youth delighted in the Grecian exerciſe and diſcipline, and rejoiced at being aſſociated to the glory of their victors. On the banks of the Tigris, Alexander was joined by a powerful body of thoſe recruits, whoſe improvements in arts and arms fully anſwered his expectations, and juſtly rewarded his foreſight. The arrival of ſuch numerous auxiliaries enabled him to

[31] Arrian, ubi ſupra.

CHAP. XXXIX.

diſcharge at Opis, a city on the Tigris, ſuch Greeks and Macedonians as were tired of the ſervice, worn out with age, or enfeebled by ſickneſs. After an intereſting ſcene, which we ſhall have occaſion to deſcribe, he diſmiſſed thoſe reſpectable veterans, loaded with wealth and honours. They were conducted by Craterus, whom he appointed to ſucceed Antipater in the adminiſtration of his European dominions; and Antipater, who had long adminiſtered that important truſt with equal prudence and fidelity, was commanded to join his maſter with new levies from Greece, Thrace, and Macedon[32].

Pays the debts of his ſoldiers.

At Suſa, Alexander learned that his ſoldiers, indulging the extravagance too natural to their profeſſion, had contracted immenſe debts, which they had neither ability nor inclination to pay. Upon this intelligence, he iſſued orders that each man ſhould give an exact account of what he owed, with the names of his creditors, declaring, that he was determined to ſatisfy them at his own expence. The troops ſuſpected an intention merely to diſcover their characters, and to learn their œconomy or proſuſion. At firſt, therefore, many denied, and all diminiſhed, their debts. But Alexander iſſued a ſecond declaration, "That it became not a prince to deceive his people, nor a people to ſuppoſe their prince capable of deceit." Faithful liſts were immediately preſented, and the whole debts diſcharged, to the amount it is ſaid, of four millions ſterling.

[32] Arrian. ubi ſupra.

This

CHAP. XXXIX.

This event was accompanied by a tranſaction of a different kind, which diſcovers, however, the ſame ſpirit, and which equally endeared Alexander to his Aſiatic ſubjects. In the royal palace of Suſa, he publicly eſpouſed Statira[33], the daughter of Darius; and beſtowed her ſiſter Drypetis on his friend Hephæſtion, ſaying, that he wiſhed their children to be kinſmen. By the advice of their maſter, Perdiccas, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and other generals, intermarried with the moſt illuſtrious of the vanquiſhed Barbarians. The ſoldiers were encouraged by preſents, and by the hope of royal favour, to follow the example of their leaders; and it appeared from the catalogue of their names preſented to the King, that above ten thouſand Greeks and Macedonians married Aſiatic women[34].

Intermarriages of the Europeans and Aſiatics.

In all the cities which he viſited, he was careful to celebrate the muſical and gymnaſtic games; thoſe diſtinguiſhing fruits of Grecian culture, which being adapted to gratify the ſenſes, as well as to pleaſe the fancy, were beheld with delight even by the moſt ignorant Barbarians. Convinced that no-

Alexander prepares to exhibit dramatic entertainments at Ecbatana. Olymp. cxiv. 1.

33 Curtius, Juſtin, and Plutarch.

34 Plutarch, ſeizing the true ſpirit of theſe regulations, exclaims, Ω βαρβαρε Ξερξη, και ανοητε, και ματην πολλα περι την Ελλησποντιαν πονηθεις γεφυραν, ουτως εμφρονεις βασιλευς Ασιαν Ευρωπη συναπτουσι, ου ξυλοις, ουδε σχεδιαις, ουδε αψυχοις και ασυμπαθεσι δεσμοις, αλλ' ερωτι νομιμω, και γαμοις σωφρουσι, και κοινωνιαις παιδων τα γενη συναπτοντες. "O! barbarous and fooliſh Xerxes, thou who laboureдſt in vain to throw a bridge over the Helleſpont, it is thus that wiſe kings join Aſia to Europe, not by boards, ſhips, lifeleſs and inſenſible bonds, but by lawful love, chaſte nuptials, and the indiſſoluble tie of common progeny." Plut. Orat. i. de Fortun. Alexand. See likewiſe above, vol. i. c. ix. p. 420.

CHAP. thing has a more direct tendency to unite and harmoniſe the minds and manners of men, than public entertainments and common pleaſures, Alexander determined to introduce and diffuſe the amuſements of the theatre. For this purpoſe, above three thouſand players and muſicians, collected from all parts of Greece, aſſembled in Ecbatana, the capital of Media, which was choſen for the ſcene of thoſe theatrical exhibitions [35]. But the ſickneſs and death of Hephæſtion changed this ſplendid ſpectacle into melancholy obſequies. In the moment of his triumph, the King was deprived of his deareſt friend [36]. This irreparable loſs he felt and expreſſed with an affectionate ardour congenial to his character, and juſtified his immoderate ſorrow by the inconſolable [37] grief of Achilles for the fate of his beloved Pa-

Death of Hephæſtion.

[35] It ſhould ſeem from Plutarch, that the entertainments of the theatre were ſoon diffuſed through other parts of Aſia, Αλεξανδρου την Ασιαν εξημερωντος, Ομηρος ην αναγνωσμα, και Ιλιεσων και Σωσιανων και Γεδρωσιων παιδες τας Ευριπιδου και Σοφοκλεους τραγωδιας, ησαν "Alexander having tamed Aſia, Homer was read in the Eaſt; the children of the Perſians, Suſians, and Gedroſia, recited the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides." Plut. ibid.

[36] Next to Hephæſtion, Craterus ſeems to have enjoyed the greateſt ſhare of Alexander's confidence; yet he often ſaid, "Craterus loves the King, Hephæſtion loves Alexander." Plutarch, in Alexand. In paſſing through the Troade, Alexander crowned the tomb of Achilles, and Hephæſtion that of Patroclus. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. xii. 7.

[37] If, in the melancholy ſhades below,
The flames of friends and lovers ceaſe to glow,
Yet mine ſhall ſacred laſt; and, undecay'd,
Burn on through death, and animate my ſhade.
Pope's Iliad.

troclus.

CHAP. XXXIX.

His obsequies and honours.

troclus. During three days and nights after the death of Hephæstion, Alexander neither changed his apparel nor tasted food. A public mourning was observed throughout the empire. Funeral games were celebrated in the great cities; the royal cohort was commanded thenceforward to retain the name and banner of Hephæstion[38]; and the lofty genius of Stasicrates erected at Ecbatana a monument worthy *of him*, whom the obsequious oracle of Ammon declared deserving of *heroic* worship. To appease the grief of Alexander, his lieutenants dedicated their armour at the tomb of his friend. The example was given by Eumenes, the king's secretary, who shortly before Hephæstion's death, had offended this illustrious favourite; a man who long and uninterruptedly enjoyed, without abusing in any one instance, the confidence of his master; who exercised power without pride, and enforced discipline without severity; whose conduct merited at once public respect and royal favour, and whose virtues disarmed envy[39].

[38] According to Plutarch, Stasicrates proposed to form Mount Athos into a statue of Alexander, grasping a city with one hand, and with the other discharging a river into the sea. Plut. in Alexand. Vitruvius, l. ii. in Proem. & Lucian, t. ii. p. 489. ascribes this design to Dinocrates. Alexander extolled the boldness of the artist, but added, Εα δε μενειν τον Αθω κατα χωραν αρκει γαρ ἑνος βασιλεως ενυβρισαντος ειναι μνημειον. "Let alone Mount Athos; it is enough that it is the monument of one king's folly already;" alluding to the event related above, vol. i. c. ix. p 420.

[39] Arrian, p. 156, tells us, that concerning the funeral honours of Hephæstion, innumerable and absurd fictions were invented by the friends and by the enemies of Alexander; nay, what is extraordinary, the same falsehoods were sometimes authorised by both; the former intending thereby to extol the warmth of his friendship, the latter to expose his extravagance and folly.

To

CHAP. XXXIX.

Alexander reduces and chaſtiſes the Coſſæans.

To moderate and divert his ſorrow, Alexander, who in the practice of war found at once buſineſs and amuſement, undertook an expedition in perſon, which perhaps would otherwiſe have been committed to the valour of his lieutenants. The Coſſæans, a rude and untractable nation, inhabited the ſouthern frontier of Media. Secure amidſt their rocks and faſtneſſes, they had ever defied the arms of the Perſians; and the degenerate ſucceſſors of Cyrus had judged it more prudent to purchaſe their friendſhip than to repel their hoſtility. In their annual journey from Babylon to Ecbatana, the pride of theſe magnificent but puſillanimous princes condeſcended to beſtow preſents on the Coſſæans, that they might procure an undiſturbed paſſage for themſelves and their train; and this impolitic meanneſs only encreaſed the audacity of fierce mountaineers, who often ravaged the Suſian plains, and often retired to their faſtneſſes, loaded with the richeſt ſpoils of Media. Alexander was not of a temper patiently to endure the repetition of ſuch indignities. In forty days, he attacked, defeated, and totally ſubdued this rapacious and warlike tribe. The Coſſæans were driven from their laſt retreats, and compelled to ſurrender their territory. After obtaining ſufficient pledges of their fidelity, the conqueror allowed them to ranſom their priſoners; and, at his departure from their country, took care to erect ſuch fortreſſes as ſeemed neceſſary for bridling, in future, the dangerous fury of this headſtrong people[46]

In

[46] Such is the account of the expedition given by Arrian, l. vii. p. 157. and confirmed by Strabo, l. xi. p. 795. and by Diodorus,

CHAP. XXXIX.

Glory of Alexander.

In returning from this ſucceſsful expedition towards the banks of the Euphrates, Alexander was met by ambaſſadors from Carthage, Spain, and Italy, as well as from many inland countries of Aſia and Africa, extending from Mount Imaus to the ſouthern extremity of Æthiopia. It was then, ſays his hiſtorian, that he appeared maſter of the world, both to his followers and to himſelf; and, as if the known parts of it had been inſufficient to ſatisfy his ambition, he gave orders to cut timber in the Hyrcanian foreſt, with a deſign to build ſhips, and explore the undiſcovered ſhores of the Caſpian and Arabian ſeas. But neither theſe lofty deſigns, nor the glory of war, nor the pomp of royalty, which, of all princes, Alexander enjoyed in the greateſt ſplendour[41], could appeaſe his grief

His melancholy.

rus, l. xvii. p. 577. Plutarch, on the other hand, moſt unwarrantably and abſurdly tells us, that Alexander, to divert his grief took the amuſement of *man hunting*, and maſſacred the whole Coſſæan nation, without diſtinction of age or ſex. Plut. p. 94.

[41] Vid. Athen. l. x. p. 436. & l. xii. p. 537—541. We may believe that Alexander's tent contained an hundred couches; that the pillars which ſupported it were encruſted with gold: that he gave audience, ſurrounded with guards, and ſeated on a golden throne. In the language of antiquity, "the maſter of both continents" found it neceſſary to unite the pomp of the Eaſt with the arts of Greece. But when Athenæus tells us of the precious eſſences, the fragrant wines, the effeminacy, and vices of Alexander, we diſcover the credulous, or rather criminal ſophiſt, who has collected into one work all the vices and impurities which diſgraced his country and human nature. To the unwarranted aſſertions of the obſcure writers cited by an Æliar (l. ix. c. iii.) and an Athenæus, we can oppoſe the authority of an Arrian and a Plutarch.—Could he who ſo ſeverely cenſured the effeminate and luxurious lives of others, be himſelf effeminate and luxurious? "Of all men," ſays Arrian, "Alexander was the moſt economical in what regarded his private pleaſures." Arrian, l. vii. p. 167. Even in the uſe of wine he was habitually ſparing. Id. l. vii. ſub fin.

CHAP. XXXIX.

for the loſs of Hephæſtion. The death of his beloved friend is ſaid, by Arrian, to have haſtened his own. It certainly tinged his character with a deep melancholy, which rendered him ſuſceptible of ſuch impreſſions as the firmneſs of his manly ſoul would otherwiſe have reſiſted and repelled.

Artifice to prevent his return to Babylon.

He, who had ſo often employed ſuperſtition as an inſtrument of policy, began himſelf to feel the power of that miſerable paſſion. The ſervants of princes, ever quick in diſcerning, and dexterous in turning to their own profit, the foibles of their maſters, ſoon diſcovered and abuſed the weakneſs of Alexander. Alarmed at the ſevere treatment of ſeveral of his colleagues, Apollodorus, a citizen of Amphipolis, who had been entruſted with the government of Babylon, practiſed with his brother Pythagoras, a diviner; and the latter, ambitious to promote the greatneſs of his family, pretended to perceive in the victims evident marks of divine diſpleaſure againſt the king, ſhould he enter the gates of Babylon. Notwithſtanding this menace, Alexander, after reducing the Coſſæans, approached towards that city with his army. He was met by a long train of Chaldæan prieſts, who conjured him to change his reſolution, becauſe they had received an oracle from Belus, declaring that his journey thither would prove fatal. The intereſts of the Chaldæans conſpired with the views of Apollodorus. The temple of Belus, a ſtupendous edifice, ſituate in the heart of Babylon, had been very richly endowed by the Aſſyrian kings. But the produce of the conſecrated ground, inſtead

CHAP. XXXIX.

inſtead of being applied to its original deſtination of repairing the temple, and offering ſacrifices to the Gods, had, ever ſince the impious reign of Xerxes, been appropriated by the Chaldæan prieſts. Alexander, it was well known, intended to reform this abuſe; and, although his mind was not altogether unmoved by the admonition of the prieſts. he diſcerned their intereſted motives, and anſwered them by a verſe of Euripides, "He's the beſt prophet that conjectures beſt." Foiled in their firſt attempt, the Chaldæans had recourſe to another artifice. Since the king had determined at every hazard to viſit Babylon, they entreated him at leaſt not to enter it on the eaſtern ſide, but to fetch a compaſs round, and to march with his face towards the riſing ſun. He prepared to comply with his advice; but the marſhineſs of the ſoil rendered his deſign impracticable; and he was thus reluctantly compelled to enter the city by the forbidden road.

His ſhort ſtay in this city diſturbed by ſuperſtitious fears.

During his ſhort ſtay at Babylon, his mind was diſturbed by ſuperſtitious fears [42], awakened by the intrigues of Apollodorus, or the artifices of the Chaldæans, and confirmed by a circumſtance well fitted to operate on a diſordered fancy. In his Indian expedition, he had converſed with the Gymnoſophiſts, or Brachmans, men who *practiſed* the philoſophy which Plato *taught*, and whoſe contempt for the pomp and pleaſures of the preſent life, was founded on the firm belief of a better and more permanent ſtate of exiſtence. To thoſe ſages,

Tenets of the Indian Brachmans.

[42] He became, ſays Plutarch, δυσιλικτος προς το θειον.

the

CHAP. XXXIX.

the fortunate ambition of Alexander appeared an object of deriſion or pity. At ſight of the conqueror, they ſtamped their feet with vehemence on the ground; indicating, by an expreſſive action, more eloquent than words, that he, whoſe name now filled the world, muſt ſoon be confined within the narrow grave. The flatterers of the king rebuked them for inſulting the ſon of Jupiter, who had the power to reward or puniſh them. They replied, by ſaying, "That all were the ſons of Jupiter; that the rewards of Alexander they diſdained, and ſet at defiance his puniſhments, which at laſt could only relieve them from the load of frail mortality." Yet Calanus, one of their number, allured by curioſity, or irreſiſtibly captivated by the ſoothing condeſcenſion of the king, agreed to accompany him; for which inconſtancy he was much blamed by his brethren. Alexander treated this caſtern ſage with great reſpect, and when Calanus, who had paſſed his ſeventy-ſecond year without experiencing any bodily infirmity, fell ſick in Perſia, the affectionate prince earneſtly entreated him not to anticipate fate by a voluntary death. But finding him inflexibly bent on this purpoſe, he allowed a pyre to be conſtructed, to which the Indian (being too feeble to walk or ride on horſeback) was conveyed in a litter. In ſight of the Macedonian army, who had been ordered to aſſiſt at this awful ſolemnity, Calanus compoſed himſelf decently on the pyre; the muſic ſtruck up; the ſoldiers raiſed a ſhout of war; and the Indian, with

Prophecy and death of Calanus.

CHAP. XXXIX.

with a ſerene countenance, expired amidſt the flames, ſinging a hymn to the Gods of his country[43].

The curioſity of Alexander was unbounded; but his humanity likewiſe was great. This principle, which is too often a ſtranger to the breaſt of conquerors, made him decline witneſſing the extraordinary death of a friend, who, for his ſake, had abandoned his native land. But, before Calanus was carried to the funeral pile, the king affectionately paid him the laſt viſit. Calanus having embraced all preſent, refuſed to take leave of Alexander, ſaying that "he ſhould again ſee him in Babylon." The words of a dying man were conſidered by the Greeks as prophetical. Thoſe of Calanus ſunk deep into the mind of Alexander; and the painful impreſſion which they had made haſtened his departure from a city, in which ſo many concurring circumſtances forbade him to reſide[44].

Death of Alexander at Babylon. Olymp. cxiv. 1. A.C. 324. May 28th.

His ſuperſtitious terrors, however, ſeem to have been diverted by the voyage down the Euphrates, and by directing the improvements in the canal of Pallacopas. Having reſumed his courage, he ventured to return to Babylon, gave audience to ſome Grecian ambaſſadors, who preſented him with golden crowns from the ſubmiſſive flattery of their ſeveral republics; and having reviewed his troops and gallies, prepared to execute the enterpriſes which he had ſo long meditated. But his deſigns and his life were now drawing to a cloſe. Whether to conquer his melancholy, or to triumph in the victory which he had already gained over it, he

[43] Arrian, l. vii. c. 3.

[44] Ibid. c. 18.

indulged,

CHAP. XXXIX.

indulged, without moderation, in that banqueting and feſtivity to which, after the fatigues of war he had often ſhewn himſelf too much addicted; and a fever, occaſioned, or at leaſt increaſed, by an exceſſive abuſe of wine, the vice of his nation and of his family, put a period to his life in the thirty-third year of his age, and in the thirteenth of his reign. After the firſt days of the diſorder, he had been conveyed to the cool verdure of a beautiful garden; but the malady increaſing, he was ſoon brought back to the palace. The laſt remains of ſtrength he ſpent in aſſiſtance at daily ſacrifices to the gods. During his illneſs he ſpoke but little, and that only concerning his intended expeditions. The temples were crowded by his friends; the generals waited in the hall; the ſoldiers ſurrounded the gates. Such was the grief of many, and the reſpectful admiration of all, that none ventured to announce to him his approaching diſſolution, none ventured to demand his laſt orders. When all hopes of recovery had vaniſhed, his favourite troops were admitted to behold him. He was ſpeechleſs, but had ſtill ſtrength to ſtretch forth his hand [45].

[45] Arrian ſays, that many reports were ſpread concerning the death of Alexander, ſuch as, that he had been poiſoned by the emiſſaries of Antipater, who, as mentioned above in the text, he had recently deprived of the government of Greece and Macedon; that when aſked to whom he bequeathed the empire, he had anſwered, to the ſtrongeſt; and that he had foretold his obſequies would be celebrated by bloody wars among his ſucceſſors. But theſe reports receive not the leaſt countenance from the royal diary, which ſeems to have been carefully copied by Arrian, nor from the hiſtories of Ptolemy and Ariſtobulus.

Such

CHAP. XXXIX.

His character.

Such was the reign of Alexander, whoſe character, being unexampled and inimitable, can only be fitly drawn by relating his actions. He was of a low ſtature, and ſomewhat deformed; but the activity and elevation of his mind animated and ennobled his frame. By a life of continual labour, and by an early and habitual practice of the gymnaſtic exerciſes, he had hardened his body againſt the impreſſions of cold and heat, hunger and thirſt[44], and prepared his robuſt conſtitution for bearing ſuch exertions of ſtrength and activity, as have appeared incredible to the undiſciplined ſoftneſs of modern times. In generoſity and in proweſs, he rivalled the greateſt heroes of antiquity; and in the race of glory, having finally outſtripped all competitors, became ambitious to ſurpaſs himſelf. His ſuperior ſkill in war gave uninterrupted ſucceſs to his arms; and his natural humanity, enlightened by the philoſophy of Greece, taught him to improve his conqueſts to the beſt intereſts of mankind[45]. In his extenſive dominions, he built, or

[44] Plut. Orat. i. & ii. de Fortun. Alexand.

[45] Plutarch ſays, the nations conquered by Alexander might adopt the language of Themiſtocles, when, in conſequence of his baniſhment from Greece, he was raiſed to great wealth and honour in Aſia. "Ω παιδες απωλομεθα, ει μη απωλομεθα." "O my children! we ſhould have been undone, had we not been undone." In the ſame manner, thoſe nations, had they not been vanquiſhed by Alexander, had not been civilized. Egypt would not boaſt her Alexandria; Meſopotamia, her Seleucia, &c. And again, "Alexander taught marriage to the Hyrcanians, and agriculture to the Arachoſii. He taught the Sogdians to maintain, and not to kill, their parents; the Perſians to reſpect, and not to marry, their mothers; the Scythians to bury, and not to eat, their dead." Plut. ibid.

CHAP. XXXIX.

founded, not less than seventy cities [46], the situation of which being chosen with consummate wisdom, tended to facilitate communication, to promote commerce, and to diffuse civility through the greatest nations of the earth [47]. It may be suspected, indeed, that he mistook the extent of human power, when, in the course of one reign, he hoped to change the face of the world; and that he miscalculated the stubbornness of ignorance, and the force of habit, when he attempted to enlighten barbarism, to soften servitude, and to transplant the improvements of Greece into an African and Asiatic soil, where they have never been known to flourish. Yet, let not the designs of Alexander be too hastily accused of extravagance. Whoever seriously considers what he actually performed before his thirty-third year, will be cautious of determining what he might have accomplished, had he reached the ordinary term of human life. His resources were peculiar to himself; and such views, as well as actions, became him, as would have become none besides. In the language of a philosophical historian, "he seems to have been given to the world by a peculiar dispensation of Providence, being a man like to none other of the human kind [48]."

From

[46] Vid. Plut. de Fortun. Alexand. Tom. ii. p. 327. In the language of Plutarch, he *sowed* Asia with Greek cities.

[47] Plut. ibid. Diodor. Sicul. xvii. 83. Stephen Byzant. in voc. Ἀλεξάνδρεια.

[48] Ὁ δὲ ἐμὸς ἔχω θυμὸς φησὶ ἂν δοκεῖν πνεῦμα, οὐδεὶ ὁμοῖον ἀνθρώπων τοιούτων. Arrian. p. 168. How far he was an instrument in the hands of Divine

CHAP. XXXIX.

The faults or crimes of which he is accused.

From the part which his father Philip and himself acted in the affairs of Greece, his history has been transmitted through the impure channels of exaggerated flattery or malignant envy. The innumerable fictions, which disgrace the works of his biographers, are contradicted by the most authentic accounts of his reign, and inconsistent with those public transactions, which concurring authorities confirm. In the present work, it seemed unnecessary to expatiate on such topics, since it is less the business of history to repeat, or even to expose errors, than to select and impress useful truths. An author, ambitious of attaining that purpose, can seldom indulge the language of general panegyric. He will acknowledge that Alexander's actions were not always blameless; but, after the most careful examination, he will affirm, that his faults were few in number, and resulted from his situation, rather than from his character.

resulted from his situation rather than from his character.

From the first year of his reign, he experienced the crimes of disaffection and treachery, which multiplied, and became more dangerous, with the extent of his dominions, and the difficulty to govern them. Several of his lieutenants early aspired at independence; others formed conspiracies against the life of their master. The first criminals were treated, as we have already seen, with a lenity becoming the generous spirit of Alexander. But

Divine Providence, belongs not to the subject of prophane history to enquire. On this subject, the reader may see Bishop Lowth on Isaiah, xix. 18. and xxiv. 14.

CHAP. XXXIX. Olymp. cxii. 4. A. C. 329.

when Philotas, the ſon of Parmenio, and even Parmenio [49] himſelf, afforded reaſon to ſuſpect their fidelity; when the Macedonian youths, who, according to the inſtitution of Philip, guarded the royal pavilion, prepared to murder their ſovereign [50], he

[49] Philotas was puniſhed in the country of the Arii; Parmenio was put to death in Media. Curtius (l. vi. c. vii. & ſeqq.), who has given the fulleſt account of theſe executions, ſays, that Philotas deſerved not the compaſſion of his friends: "Amicorum miſericordiam non meruit." He leaves it uncertain whether Parmenio fell a ſacrifice to his own treaſon, or to the policy of Alexander. Arrian thinks, that the death of Parmenio was neceſſary to his maſter's ſafety.—Although the evidence of this general's guilt has not been handed down to poſterity, Alexander, it is certain, believed him guilty. He who diſdained to conquer his enemies by deceit, cannot, without proof, be ſuppoſed capable of treacherouſly aſſaſſinating his friends.

[50] This conſpiracy is related by Arrian, l. ix. c. xiii. and xiv. The ſcene was Bactra, or Zariaſpa, the capital of Bactria. At a hunting-match, the King, being ready to kill a boar, was anticipated by Hermolaus. To puniſh the inſolence of the youth, Alexander ordered him to be whipped. The diſgrace ſeemed intolerable to Hermolaus and his companions; a conſpiracy was formed to deſtroy Alexander in his ſleep. It was diſcovered by Ptolemy, the ſon of Lagus. The youths confeſſed their guilt, and declared that they had been confirmed in their purpoſe by Calliſthenes, the ſcholar of Ariſtotle, an arrogant and moroſe man, who, ſheltered by the cloak of philoſophy, inſolently browbeat the prince, whom he was bound to reſpect (Arrian, p. 871.) The conſpirators were ſtoned to death; a puniſhment common in that age, when perſons accuſed were tried before numerous aſſemblies, whoſe indignation frequently burſt forth, and deſtroyed atrocious offenders on the ſpot, with the firſt inſtruments of death that chance offered to their hands. Calliſthenes was dragged round the army in chains. Such is the beſt authenticated account of this affair, concerning which the variations of ancient writers are innumerable. Vid. Arrian, l. iv. c. xiv. Curtius, l. viii. c. viii. Seneca Suaſor. i. Juſtin, l. xv. c. iii. Philoſtratus, l. viii. c. i. Diodor. Sicul. pp. 356 & 358. Diogen. Laert. in Ariſtot. Suidas, ad voc. As an example of the injuſtice done the

CHAP. XXXIX.

he found it neceſſary to depart from his lenient ſyſtem, and to hold with a firmer hand the reins of government. Elated by unexampled proſperity, and the ſubmiſſive reverence of vanquiſhed nations, his loftineſs diſguſted the pride of his European troops, particularly the Macedonian nobles, who had been accuſtomed to regard themſelves rather as his companions than ſubjects. The pretenſions which found policy taught him to form and to maintain, of being treated with thoſe external honours ever claimed by the monarchs of Eaſt, highly offended the religious prejudices of the Greeks, who deemed it impious to proſtrate the body, or bend the knee, to any mortal ſovereign. Yet had he remitted formalities conſecrated by the practice of ages, he muſt inſenſibly have loſt the reſpect of his Aſiatic ſubjects. With a view to reconcile the

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the character of Alexander, I ſhall inſert the paſſage of Seneca; "Hoc eſt Alexandri crimen æternum, quod nulla virtus, nulla bellorum felicitas redimet. Nam quoties quis dixerit, Occidit Perſarum multa millia; opponitur, et Calliſthenem. Quoties dictum erit, omnia oceano tenus vicit, ipſam quoque tentavit novis claſſibus, & imperium ex angulo Thraciæ uſque ad orientis terminos protulit; dicetur, ſed Calliſthenem occidit." Yet this Calliſthenes was a traitor, whoſe writings are mentioned with contempt by Arrian, loc. citat. Polybius, t. ii. pp. 64. 835. & t. iii. p. 45. Cicero ad Quint. Frat. l. ii. epiſt. xiii. & Longinus, c. iii. p. 14. The patriotiſm of the Greeks and the envy of the Romans could never forgive the tranſcendent glory of Alexander, which eclipſed their own. In ſpeaking of Philip and his ſon, even Cicero (de Offic.) ſays, "Alter ſemper magnus, alter ſæpe turpiſſimus." See likewiſe Livy, l. ix. c. xviii. The laſt-mentioned writer (l. ix. c. xvii.) goes out of his way to allege very inconcluſive arguments for believing, that had Alexander turned his arms againſt Italy, he would certainly have been conquered by the Romans.

CHAP. XXXIX.

discordant principles of the victors and vanquished, he affected an immediate descent from Jupiter Ammon, a claim liberally admitted by the avarice or fears of the Libyan priests, and which, he had reason to expect, could not be very obstinately denied by the credulity of the Greeks and Macedonians, who universally acknowledged that Philip, his reputed father, was remotely descended from the Grecian Jupiter. But the success of this design, which might have entitled him, as son of Jupiter, to the same obeisance from the Greeks, which the Barbarians readily paid him as monarch of the East, was counteracted, at first by the secret displeasure, and afterwards by the open indignation, of several of his generals and courtiers. Nor did the conduct of Alexander tend to extricate him from this difficulty. With his friends, he maintained that equal intercourse of visits and entertainments, which characterized the Macedonian manners; indulged the liberal flow of unguarded conversation; and often exceeded that intemperance in wine, which disgraced his age and country.

Murder of Clitus. Olymp. cxiii. 1. A. C. 328.

On such occasions his guests, or entertainers, enjoyed and abused the indecent familiarity to which they had been accustomed with their kings; but which the temper of Alexander, corrupted by prosperity and flattery, was no longer able to tolerate. A scene of drunken debauchery, which must appear highly disgusting to the propriety of modern manners, proved fatal to Clitus, who, emboldened by wine, daringly insulted his prince, villified his noblest actions, and derided his pretensions

to

CHAP. XXXIX.

to divinity. The King, being likewiſe intoxicated, was no longer maſter of himſelf, when Clitus, who had been once carried from his preſence, returned a ſecond time to the charge, and behaved more inſolently than before. In an unhappy moment, Alexander thruſt a ſpear into the breaſt of his friend [*]; but inſtantly repenting his fury, would have deſtroyed himſelf by the ſame weapon, had he not been prevented by his attendants. The bitterneſs of his repentance, and the pungency of his remorſe, which neither flattery could ſoften, nor ſophiſtry appeaſe [†], rendered his life burdenſome, and his actions inconſiſtent. At times, he aſſumed the Perſian dreſs and ornaments; diſplayed the pomp of Oriental deſpotiſm; employed, and often preferred, the Barbarians; and, in ſeveral paſſages of his reign, this ſucceſsful, but unhappy, conqueror appears to have been beſet with flatterers, ſurrounded by conſpirators, adored by the

[*] Monteſquieu, who (Voltaire only excepted) is the moſt diſtinguiſhed modern apologiſt of Alexander, ſays, "Il fit deux mauvaiſes actions; il brula Perſepolis & tua Clitus." (Eſprit des Loix, l. x. c. xvi.) The ſtory of the burning of Perſepolis we have already refuted. The death of Clitus, Ariſtobulus, cited by Arrian, aſcribes entirely to the inſolence and folly of Clitus himſelf, and totally exculpates Alexander. But Arrian obſerves, like a philoſopher, that Alexander was juſtly blameable in allowing himſelf to be overcome by drunkenneſs and anger. Arrian, p. 84.

[†] Agis, an Argive poet, and Anaxarchus the ſophiſt, endeavoured to cure his melancholy. The latter told him, that Juſtice was deſcribed by the ancients as ſeated near the throne of Jupiter, to indicate that right and wrong depended on the will of kings, all whoſe actions ought to be held juſt by themſelves and others. This flagitious ſervility Arrian ſpurns with indignation, and brands with infamy. Arrian, p. 82.

CHAP. XXXIX.

passive submission of his eastern subjects, and insulted by the licentious petulance of the Greeks and Macedonians.

Difficulties of Alexander's situation, and the magnanimity by which he overcame them.

The indignation or jealousy of the latter tinged the fairest of his actions with dark and odious colours. About a year before his death, a scene was transacted at Opis on the Tigris, which shews the difficulties of his situation, and the magnanimity by which he overcame them. Having assembled the Macedonian troops, he declared to them his pleasure, that such as felt themselves unable, through age or infirmities, to undergo the fatigues of war, should be honourably discharged from the service, and safely conducted to their respective provinces. This proposal, which ought to have been accepted with gratitude, was heard with anger. The soldiers reflected, that the army had recently increased by an accession of thirty thousand Barbarians, armed and accoutred after the European fashion, trained to the Grecian discipline and exercises, and instructed in the arts and language of the victors. The King, they thought, no longer cared for the service of his veterans, and therefore dismissed them with contempt. The spirit of sedition seized the camp; the Macedonians unanimously demanded their discharge; some adding with scoffs, "That he had no farther use for *them*; his father Ammon could fight his battles." At these words, the King sprung from the tribunal on which he sat, and commanded the most audacious to be seized by his targeteers, and conducted to immediate execution. This prompt severity

verity appeaſed the riſing tumult. The ſoldiers remained motionleſs and ſilent, doubtful or terrified. Alexander again mounted the tribunal, and ſpoke as follows: "It is not my wiſh, Macedonians, to change your reſolution. Return home, without hindrance from me. But, before leaving the camp, firſt learn to know your King and yourſelves. My father Philip (for with him it is ever fit to begin) found you, at his arrival in Macedon, miſerable and hopeleſs fugitives; covered with ſkins of ſheep; feeding among the mountains ſome wretched herds which you had neither ſtrength nor courage to defend againſt the Thracians, Illyrians, and Triballi. Having repelled the ravagers of your country, he brought you from the mountains to the plain, and taught you to confide, not in your faſtneſſes, but in your valour. By his wiſdom and diſcipline, he trained you to arts and civility, enriched you with mines of gold, inſtructed you in navigation and commerce, and rendered you a terror to thoſe nations, at whoſe names you uſed to tremble. Need I mention his conqueſts in Upper Thrace, or thoſe ſtill more valuable in the maritime provinces of that country? Having opened the gates of Greece, he chaſtiſed the Phocians, reduced the Theſſalians, and, while I ſhared the command, defeated and humbled the Athenians and Thebans, eternal foes to Macedon, to whom you had been ſucceſſively tributaries, ſubjects, and ſlaves. But my father rendered you their maſters; and having entered the Peloponneſus, and regulated at diſcretion the affairs of that peninſula,

CHAP. XXXIX.

His own account of the reign of Philip and himſelf.

CHAP. XXXIX.

peninſula, he was appointed, by univerſal conſent, general of combined Greece; an appointment not more honourable to himſelf, than glorious for his country. At my acceſſion to the throne, I found a debt of five hundred talents, and ſcarcely ſixty in the treaſury. I contracted a freſh debt of eight hundred; and conducting you from Macedon, whoſe boundaries ſeemed unworthy to confine you, ſafely croſſed the Helleſpont, though the Perſians then commanded the ſea. By one victory, we gained Ionia, Æolia, both Phrygias, and Lydia. By our courage and activity, the provinces of Cilicia and Syria, the ſtrength of Paleſtine, the antiquity of Egypt, and the renown of Perſia were added to your empire. Yours, now, are Bactra and Aria, the productions of India, the fertility of Aſſyria, the wealth of Suſa, and the wonders of Babylon. You are generals, princes, ſatraps. What have I reſerved for myſelf, but this purple and diadem, which mark my pre-eminence in toil and danger! Where are my private treaſures [55]? Or why ſhould I collect them? Are *my* pleaſures expenſive? You know that I fare worſe than any of yourſelves; and have in nothing ſpared my perſon. Let him, who dares, compare with me. Let him bare his breaſt, and I will bare mine. My body, the fore part of my body, is covered with honourable wounds from every ſort of weapon. I often watch,

[55] It appears from Arrian, that Alexander ſpeaks of theſe, as diſtinct from the military fund, and other revenues, employed in paying and rewarding his troops, and in executing ſuch public deſigns as ſeemed conducive to the proſperity of the empire.

that

that you may repoſe ſafely; and, to teſtify my unremitting attention to your happineſs, had determined to ſend home the aged and infirm among you, loaded with wealth and honour. But ſince you are all deſirous to leave me, Go! Report to your countrymen, that, unmindful of the ſignal bounty of your King, you entruſted him to the vanquiſhed Barbarians. The report, doubtleſs, will beſpeak your gratitude and piety [54]."

CHAP. XXXIX.

Having thus ſaid, he ſprang from the tribunal, and haſtened to the palace, accompanied only by his guards. During two days, none were admitted to his preſence. On the third, he called the Perſian nobles of diſtinction, and diſtributed among them the principal departments of military command. He then iſſued orders, that certain bodies of the Barbarian infantry and cavalry ſhould be called the royal battalion, and royal cohort, and by ſuch other names as commanded greateſt reſpect. Appriſed of theſe innovations, the Macedonians, who had long remained in confuſion before the tribunal, afraid to follow Alexander, and afraid to allow his retiring unattended, flocked around the palace, and depoſited their arms at the gate, humbly requeſting to ſee their King, and declaring that they would never ſtir from the place, till their tears had moved his compaſſion. Alexander came forth, beheld their abaſement, and wept. The affecting ſilence, marked by alternate emotions of repentance and reconciliation, was at length broke by Callines, a man highly eſteemed

Affecting ſcene at Opis on the Tigris. Olymp. cxiii. 4. A. C. 325.

[54] Arrian, p. 150, & ſeqq.

in

CHAP. XXXIX.

in the cavalry: "Thy Macedonians, O King! are grieved that the Perſians alone ſhould be called thy kindred, and entitled as ſuch to embrace thee, while none of themſelves are allowed to taſte that honour [55]." Alexander replied, "From this moment you are all my kindred." Callines then ſtepped forward and embraced him; and ſeveral others having followed the example, they all took up their arms, and returned to the camp with ſhouts of joy, and ſongs.

A feſtival celebrated in common by the Macedonians and Perſians.

Of all men (if we believe the concurring teſtimony of his hiſtorians) Alexander was the moſt mindful of his duty to the gods. To thank heaven for the happy iſſue of this tranſaction, he celebrated a ſolemn ſacrifice, and, after the ſacrifice, an entertainment for the principal of his European and Aſiatic ſubjects. The Macedonians were next to his perſon; the Perſians next the Macedonians; the Grecian prieſts and Perſian magi joined in common libations, invoking perpetual concord, and eternal union of empire, to the Macedonians and Perſians. Soon afterwards, the invalids, whoſe diſmiſſion had produced the mutiny, gladly returned home. Alexander diſcharged their arrears, allowed them full pay until their arrival in Macedon, and granted each ſoldier a gratuity of two hundred pounds ſterling. He again ſhed tears at parting with upwards of ten thouſand men, who had ſerved him in ſo many glorious campaigns; and, as a teſtimony of his affectionate concern for their ſafety,

[55] Arrian ſays, "while none of themſelves ever taſted that honour." Μακεδονων απω τις γευεται ταυτης της τιμης. Arrian, p. 154.

appointed

appointed Craterus, whom he loved as his own ſoul [56], to be their conductor. CHAP. XXXIX.

Such was the life of this extraordinary man, whoſe genius might have changed and improved the ſtate of the ancient world. But the ſpirit of improvement is tranſient, and demands perpetual efforts; the ſources of degeneracy are permanent and innumerable. It ſeems at firſt ſight to be regretted, that by neglecting to provide for the ſucceſſion to his throne, he left the field open for thoſe bloody wars among his captains, which long deſolated the earth. Yet the difficulties, with which he was himſelf obliged to ſtruggle, might teach him the impoſſibility of ſecuring the empire for the infancy of his ſon Hercules, or the weakneſs of his brother Arridhæus. The principles of royal ſucceſſion were never accurately aſcertained in Macedon; and the camp of a conqueror could not be expected to prove a good ſchool of moderation or juſtice. The firſt meaſure adopted by his generals was, to ſet aſide the natural claim of Hercules, born of the daughter of Darius, and to appoint Arridhæus, together with the fruit of Roxana's pregnancy, if ſhe brought forth a ſon, to be joint heirs of the monarchy. This whimſical deſtination announced little union or ſtability. Perdiccas, in virtue of poſſeſſing the ring or ſeal of his deceaſed maſter, aſſumed the regency: the troops and provinces were divided among Antigonus, Ptolemy, Craterus and other chiefs, who, having been formerly the equals, diſdained to remain the inferiors, of

Diviſion of Alexander's conqueſts.

[56] Arrian, p. 155.

Perdiccas.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Perdiccas. Each general truſted in his ſword fo an independent eſtabliſhment; new troops were raiſed and diſciplined; leagues formed and broken: the children and relations of Alexander, who became ſucceſſively priſoners in different hands, all periſhed miſerably; nor was there any ceſſation of crimes and calamities [57], or any permanent ſettlement of the provinces, until the battle of Ipſus in Phrygia confirmed Ptolemy in the poſſeſſion of Egypt, and Seleucus in that of Upper Aſia [58]. The iſſue of the ſame battle gave Macedon and Greece to Caſſander, and Thrace, with ſeveral provinces of Lower Aſia, to Lyſimachus.

A.C. 301.

Subſequent hiſtory of Egypt and Syria.

The great kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, which continued thenceforward, till ſubdued by the Romans, to be governed by the reſpective families of Seleucus and Ptolemy, never generally [59] adopted

[57] Diodor. Sicul. xix & xx. paſſim.

[58] Arrian, pp. 160 & 164.

[59] Yet among the higher ranks of men, the Greek language continually gained ground. Before the Chriſtian æra, it was ſpoken by Jews, Romans, and Africans. It was the language of the learned and polite in Egypt and Syria as well as in Italy and Carthage. It muſt have been underſtood by all ranks of men in Judæa, ſince the inſpired writers employed it in propagating the goſpel, which was to be firſt preached to the Jews. For this univerſality, the Greek ſeem to have been indebted, 1. To the innumerable Greek colonies in Europe, Aſia, and Africa. 2. To the conqueſts of Alexander, whoſe armies and garriſons were continually reinforced from Greece. 3. To the ſocial and agreeable character of the Greeks. 4. To the excellence of the language itſelf (ſee above, chapters v. and vi.), whoſe duration is as wonderful as its extent. The Greek was ſpoken in the middle of the fifteenth century, when Conſtantinople was taken by the Turks; ſo that, from the time of Homer, it ſubſiſted with little variation, as a living tongue, for two thouſand and four hundred years.

the

CHAP. XXXIX.

the language or manners of their Grecian sovereigns. In Egypt, the first successors of Alexander carried into execution the commercial improvements planned by that prince; and the Kings both of Egypt and of Syria affected, in their magnificent courts, to join the arts and elegance of Greece to the pomp and luxury of the East. But their ostentation is far more prominent than their taste; their liberal characters were effaced by the continual contact of servitude; they sunk into the softness and insignificance of hereditary despots, whose reigns are neither busy nor instructive; nor could the intrigues of women and eunuchs, or ministers equally effeminate, form in themselves a subject sufficiently interesting to succeed the memorable transactions of the Grecian republics.

The western division of Alexander's empire conquered by the Romans.

In the history of those kingdoms, the most important event is their conquest by the Romans, who gradually seized all the western spoils of the empire of Alexander, comprehended between the Euphrates and the Hadriatic sea, and successively reduced them into the form of provinces. Greece, which came to be distinguished by the name of Achaia, imparted its literature, its arts [60] and its vices, to Italy. The conquest of Macedon freed Rome from the weight of taxes. The acquisition

[60] Notwithstanding the degeneracy of the Greeks under the Macedonian and Roman governments, their country, and particularly Athens, was long regarded as the principal seat of arts and philosophy. But the Greek artists, as well as poets, orators, historians, and philosophers, of later times, were mere imitators, who fell infinitely short of the merit and fame of the great originals. The works of Phidias and Apelles, of Sophocles, Demosthenes, Plato, &c. not those of the Greeks their own contemporaries, were the objects of admiration to Cicero and Seneca, to the writers of the Augustan age, to Pliny, Tacitus, &c. But of this, more in the next chapter.

of

CHAP. XXXIX.

of Syria doubled the revenues of that republic. The ſubjugation of Egypt doubled the price of commodities in Italy. Yet whatever might be the wealth [61] of thoſe nations, they have not acquired much fame with poſterity, ſince, amidſt all their external advantages, they are not diſtinguiſhed by any invention that improved the practice of war, or greatly increaſed the enjoyments of peace. [62].

State of Greece after the age of Alexander.

The feeble mixture of Grecian coloniza'ion diffuſed through the Eaſt, was ſufficient, indeed, to tinge, but too inconſiderable to alter and aſſimilate, the vaſt maſs of barbariſm. But as the principle of degenaracy is often ſtronger than that of improvement, the ſloth and ſervility of Aſia gradually crept into Greece. That unfortunate country, drained of its moſt enterpriſing inhabitants, who either followed the ſtandard, or oppoſed the arms, of Alexander, was equally inſulted by the ſeverity and the indulgence of his ſucceſſors, ſince, in either caſe, the Greeks felt and acknowledged their dependence. Reluctantly compelled to ſubmit to a maſter, they loſt that elevation of character, and that enthuſiaſm of valour, which had been produced by freedom, nouriſhed by victory, and confirmed by the juſt ſenſe of national pre-eminence. Their domeſtic diſſenſions, by carrying them in great numbers into the ſervice of foreign princes, thereby diffuſed the knowledge of their

[61] Of which ſee an account extracted from the public regiſters, in Appian. Alexand. in Proem.

[62] For the hiſtory of arts and ſciences under the Ptolemies, ſee Hiſtory of the World from Alexander to Auguſtus, c. viii. c. xi. and vol. ii. c. xvi. & c. xxv.

tactics

CHAP. XXXIX.

tactics and diſcipline through countries far more extenſive and populous than their own; and amidſt all their perſonal animoſities, the Captains of Alexander, uniformly embracing the maxims of deſpotiſm which their maſter magnanimouſly diſdained, firmly and unitedly reſiſted and cruſhed the riſing rebellions of the Greeks, whoſe feeble and ill-conducted efforts for regaining their liberty, only plunged them the deeper into ſervitude. Deſtitute of immediate and important objects to rouſe their activity, the example of their anceſtors at length ceaſed to animate and inſpire them. The rewards of merit being withdrawn, men no longer aſpired at excellence. The ſpirit of patriotiſm evaporated; the fire of genius was extinguiſhed; exertion periſhed with hope; and, excluſively of the Achæan League [62], the unfortunate iſſue of which I had occaſion before to mention [63], Greece, from the age of Alexander, offers not any ſeries of tranſactions highly memorable in the hiſtory of arts or arms.

[62] Polybius treats the Achæan league, and other collateral tranſactions of the Greeks and Macedonians, as epiſodes in his Roman hiſtory in forty books, of which only five have come down to us. Other writers, whoſe works are intirely loſt, conſidered the Greek affairs as principal, and interwove with them thoſe of the Romans, Jews, Parthians and Carthaginians. See my Hiſtory of the World from Alexander to Auguſtus, c. xxv.

[63] See vol. ii. p. 15.

CHAP. XL.

State of Literature in the Age of Alexander. — Poetry — Muſic — Arts of Deſign — Geography — Aſtronomy — Natural Hiſtory. — Works of Ariſtotle. — Philoſophical Sects eſtabliſhed at Athens. — Decline of Genius. — Tenets of the different Sects. — Peripatetic Philoſophy. — Eſtimate of that Philoſophy. — Its Fate in the World. — Coincidence in the Opinions of Zeno and Epicurus. — The Stoic Philoſophy. — Eſtimate of that Philoſophy. — The Epicurean Philoſophy. — Character of Epicurus. — Philoſophy of Pyrrho. — Concluſion.

CHAP. XL.

State of literature in the age of Alexander.

IN the latter years of Alexander, literature, philoſophy, and the fine arts, diſplayed their brighteſt charms; yet the ſource of that health and vigour, from which their beauty flowed, had already begun to fail. The military expeditions of this matchleſs conqueror were deſcribed, and publiſhed after his death, in the authentic and intereſting narratives of Ptolemy and Ariſtobulus [1], who had been the witneſſes and companions of his victories. But his extraordinary exploits, and unexampled ſucceſs, which far eclipſed the imaginary renown of the fabled heroes of antiquity, produced, even in his life-time, a crowd of writers, whoſe credulity, and love of the marvellous, could only be exceeded by their mean adulation, and ſervile ſu-

[1] Arrian, in Proœm.

perſtition

CHAP. XL.

perſtition [2]. Exaggeration in matters of fact produced that ſwelling amplification of ſtyle, thoſe meretricious ornaments and affected graces, which characteriſed the puerile and frigid compoſitions of Calliſthenes, Clitarchus, Oneſicritus, and Hegeſias [3]. The falſe taſte of theſe raſh innovators, to whoſe perverſe induſtry muſt be aſcribed the ridiculous trappings which have too long disfigured the auguſt form of Alexander, was admired and imitated by many contemporary hiſtorians. The contagion infected even the orators; and it is worthy of obſervation, that the verboſe emptineſs and bombaſt of the Aſiatic eloquence, was firſt introduced into Greece in the age which had applauded the chaſte and nervous compoſitions of Lycurgus, Hyperides, Æſchines, and Demoſthenes [4]. So true it is, that in every country where the human genius has attained its higheſt point of perfection, a principle of degeneracy naturally carries things in a contrary direction; becauſe thoſe, who are incapable of excellence, ſtill covet diſtinction, and, deſpairing to ſurpaſs their predeceſſors in the beauties of truth and nature, vainly ſolicit praiſe by falſe conceits and artificial refinements, by empty exaggerations and boaſtful loquacity.

Under the Macedonian government, Greece produced not any original genius in the ſerious

[2] Lucian. de Scribend. Hiſtor..

[3] Strabo, l. xiv. 648. Conf. Polybius, l. xii. c. 17.

[4] Dionyſ. Halicarn. de Structura Oration. Longinus de Sublim. Cicero de Orator. & de Clar. Orator. paſſim.

CHAP. XL.

kinds of poetry. The tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides ſtill kept poſſeſſion of the theatre. But no lyric, no epic poet appeared, qualified to adorn the exploits of Alexander, though that prince, intoxicated with the love of fame, munificently rewarded the ignoble flattery of Agis, Cleon, Chærilus, and other contemptible encomiaſts, who corrupted his heart, without vitiating his judgment, ſince he declared, that he would rather be the Therſites of Homer, than the Achilles of Chærilus [5]. Yet in the ſame age Philemon, Antiphanes [6], Lycon [7], above all, the Athenian Menander, carried comedy to the higheſt perfection which it ever attained in any nation of antiquity. During the republican form of government, the inſtitutions and character of the Greeks were unfavourable to the beſt improvement of this ſpecies of writing. The licentious turbulence of democracy generally converted their attempts at wit and humour into petulance and buffoonery. The change of government and manners, requiring due reſpect to the rules of propriety and the dictates of caution, improved their diſcernment, and gradually made them ſenſible to that refined ridicule, where more is meant than ſaid, and to thoſe more intereſting, becauſe juſter, delineations of character, which diſtinguiſhed the comic ſtrains of Philemon and Menander [8].

Improvement of comedy.

[5] Acro. ad Horat. Art. Poet. v. 357. Curtius, l. viii. c. v.
[6] Athenæus, l. xii. p. 555.
[7] Plut. Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand.
[8] Vid. Plut. Comp. Ariſtoph. & Menand.

Alex-

CHAP. XL.

Alexander, during his early youth, took delight in dramatic entertainments. Theſſalus was his favourite actor, but Athenadorus was more approved by the public. To Athenadorus, the magiſtrates, who, according to ancient cuſtom, were appointed to decide the pretenſions between rivals for theatrical fame, adjudged the prize of merit. The young hero declared, that this deciſion gave him more pain than he would have felt at the loſs of his inheritance [9]. The muſicians Timotheus [10] and Antigenides [11] ſtill diſplayed the wonderful powers of their art; but as the ſeverity of education and manners continually relaxed in all parts of Greece, it was obſerved that muſic, originally deſtined to purify and exalt the mind, was in later times univerſally employed to ſeduce and inflame the paſſions [12].

Muſic.

The arts of deſign, painting, ſculpture, and architecture, appeared in their higheſt luſtre in the age of Philip and Alexander, both which princes had no leſs taſte to judge [13], than munificence to promote them. The eaſtern expedition of Alexander introduced, or at leaſt greatly multiplied in Greece, thoſe precious and durable gems, which thenceforth exhibited ſome of the fineſt ſpecimens of Grecian ingenuity. The ſkill and taſte of Pyr-

Arts of deſign.

[9] Plut. Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand.
[10] Hephæſt. de Metr.
[11] Plut. Orat. de Fortun. Alexand.
[12] Ariſtot. Politic. l. viii. c. vi.
[13] Judicium ſubtile videndis artibus. Hor. Ep. l. ii. Ep. i. v. 242.

CHAP. XL.

goteles were diſtinguiſhed in this valuable, though minute art [14]. He enjoyed the excluſive honour of repreſenting the figure of Alexander on gems, as did Lyſippus of caſting it in bronze, and Apelles of exhibiting it in colours [15]. Lyſippus was juſtly admired for bringing back the art to a cloſer ſtudy, and nearer imitation, of nature, without yielding to his predeceſſors in ideal beauty [16]. We have already mentioned his twenty-one equeſtrian ſtatues of the Macedonian guards, ſlain in the battle of the Granicus. He is ſaid to have made ſix hundred and ten figures in bronze [17]; a number which, if not greatly exaggerated, would prove his facility of working to have far ſurpaſſed that of all ſtatuaries, ancient or modern. The numerous liſt of painters, contemporary with Apelles, indicates an extraordinary demand for their art; ſince no profeſſion, that is not gainful, will ever be very generally followed [18]. The moſt celebrated of theſe artiſts were Amphion and Aſclepiodorus [19], whom Apelles acknowledged as his ſuperiors in ſome points of compoſition; Ariſtides the Theban, who was inimitable in expreſſion [20]; and Protogenes of Rhodes, whom Ariſtotle exhorted to

Lyſippus.

Apelles and other contemporary artiſts.

[14] Plin. l. vii. c. xxxii. & Plutarch. in Alexand.

[15] Vid. Plin. edit. Berolin. i. 221. iii. 217—228.

[16] Plin. iii. 194, & ſeqq.

[17] The Sieur Falconet, who made the famous ſtatue of Peter the Great, thinks the thing impoſſible, and gives a different meaning to the words of Pliny. See his obſervations on the paſſage, in his tranſlation of the books of Pliny relative to the arts. Vol. ii. Lauſanne.

[18] Plin. iii. 222. [19] Idem, iii. 226.

[20] Idem, iii. 215—225.

paint

paint the exploits of Alexander on account of the unperiſhing dignity of the ſubject [21]. The inferior branches of the art, if not firſt cultivated in that age, were then carried to perfection. Pyreicus [22] confined himſelf to ſubjects of low life, and Antiphilus [23] to caricatures, which the Greeks call.d Grylli. The theory and practice of painting were explained in many works, the loſs of which is much to be regretted [24]. CHAP. XL.

Amidſt the great multitude of artiſts, and writers on art, all acknowledged the pre-eminence of Apelles, whoſe works were innumerable, and each ſufficient to eſtabliſh his renown [25]. His picture of Alexander graſping a thunderbolt, was ſold to the temple of Epheſian Diana for four thouſand pounds. His Venus Anadyomené was damaged by accident; none would venture to reſtore the parts that had been effaced: ſo that the injury of the picture contributed to the glory of the artiſt. The model of this Venus was the beautiful Campaſpé, the favourite miſtreſs of Alexander. The ſenſibility of Apelles was too deeply penetrated with the charms which he ſo ſucceſsfully expreſſed. Alexander was no ſooner acquainted with his paſſion, than, in the language of Pliny, he made him a preſent, not only of Campaſpé, but of his own affection, too little reſpecting the feelings of the beloved object, at her degradation Works of Apelles.

[21] "Propter eternitatem rerum." Plin. ibid.
[22] Plin. in. 226. [23] Idem, iii. 229.
[24] Idem, ibid. [25] Plin. iii. 222, & ſeqq.

CHAP. XI.

in paſſing from the bed of a king into that of a painter. Yet this celebrated artiſt, who enjoyed other ſtriking proofs of his maſter's partiality and friendſhip, lived on good terms with his brethren. With the frankneſs of his age and nation, he aſſumed the merit which belonged to him, and freely aſſerted, that none of his competitors could imitate the gracefulneſs[26] of his attitudes and figures. But in ſome other branches of the art, he acknowledged his inferiority to ſeveral of his contemporaries. The deſire of ſeeing the works of Protogenes carried him to Rhodes. He there found a rival not altogether unworthy to alarm his jealouſy. But inſtead of yielding to the dictates of this miſerable paſſion, he drew Protogenes from obſcurity; raiſed the price of his pictures; and taught the Rhodians, who undervalued the ſame talents in their fellow citizen which they admired in a ſtranger, to acknowledge and reſpect his merit[27].

Decline of the arts after the death of Alexander.

Soon after the death of Alexander, painting and the kindred arts ceaſed[28]. By this expreſſion, Pliny means not, that they ceaſed to be cultivated, but to make farther progreſs; ſince neither the ſcholars of Apelles and Lyſippus, nor thoſe who came after them, were able to reach the glory of their predeceſſors. The Greek kings of Egypt and Syria ſhould ſeem to have bent their attention rather

[26] "Deeſſe iis unam Venerem dicebat quam Græci charita vocant, cetera omnia contigiſſe; ſed hâc ſolâ ſibi neminem parem." Plin. lib. xxxv. 222, & ſeqq.

[27] Plin. ibid.

[28] "Ceſſavit deinde ars." Plin. ibid.

to

CHAP. XL.

to literature, than to the arts. But, in both, the ſchools of Alexandria and Seleucia never aſpired beyond the humble merit of imperfectly imitating thoſe of Greece. In proportion to its neighbourhood to that country, the arts took firmer root in Alexandria than in Seleucia; and, from the ſame circumſtance, they are ſaid to have flouriſhed longer and more abundantly in the little principalities of Pergamus and Bithynia, than in the wealthy kingdoms of Syria and Egypt [29].

Geography.

The expedition of Alexander contributed to the improvement of the ſciences, both natural and moral. His marches were carefully meaſured by Diognetes and Beton. Other geometers [30] were employed to ſurvey the more remote parts of the countries which he traverſed; and the exact deſcription of his conqueſts, which, from theſe and other materials, he took care to have compiled by men of approved integrity and abilities, gave a new form to the ſcience of geography [31].

Aſtronomy.

After the conqueſt of Babylon, Alexander eagerly demanded the aſtronomical obſervations, which had been carefully preſerved in that ancient capital above nineteen centuries. They remounted twenty-two hundred and thirty-four years beyond the Chriſtian æra. By order of Alexander, they were faithfully tranſcribed, and tranſmitted to

[29] Winkelmann, Geſchichte der Kunſt des Alterthums, p. 711, & ſeqq.

[30] Strabo, l. ii. p. 47.

[31] Caſſini ſur l'Origine de l'Aſtronomie, &c. Academ. des Sciences, l. viii. p. 13.

CHAP. XL. Ariſtotle [32], who was probably prevented by his infirm ſtate of health from accompanying his pupil to the Eaſt; or who, perhaps, voluntarily preferred a philoſophical retirement in Athens, to the glory of attending the conqueror of the world.

Natural hiſtory. Nor was this the only preſent to his preceptor, by which Alexander diſplayed at once his gratitude and love of ſcience. Natural hiſtory was peculiarly indebted to his curioſity and muniſicence. At the expence of nearly two hundred thouſand pounds, but equivalent to two millions in the preſent age, he collected many rare productions of nature in different countries of Aſia, and particularly that amazing variety of animals [33], which Ariſtotle has deſcribed with ſuch inimitable preciſion [34] in his work on that ſubject.

Moral knowledge. But whatever obligations natural knowledge owed to Alexander, it would ſeem that the moral ſciences were not leſs benefited by his diſcoveries and conqueſts [35]. The ſtudy of human nature muſt have been greatly enlarged by ſuch a wide ſurvey of men and manners; nor was this advantage, per-

[32] Porphyr. apud Simplicium, in Ariſtot. de Cœlo, l. ii.

[33] Plin. l. viii. c. xvi.

[34] See the admirable criticiſm on Ariſtotle's Hiſtory of Animals, by Buffon, vol. i.

[35] The arts and ſciences not only flouriſhed in Alexander's time; they flouriſhed, ſays Plutarch, δια Αλεξανδρον. "He was the efficient cauſe of this effect." The paſſage which follows, Καρπων μεν γαρ τυφοιαν, &c. ſhould be ſtudied by all princes who aſpire to glory, a glory greater than power can give; more extenſive and more permanent than conqueſt can confer.

haps,

haps, confined to thoſe who performed the expedition, whoſe works have unfortunately periſhed; ſince the moral and political treatiſes of Ariſtotle diſcover not only more method in his reaſonings, but a more copious fund of facts on which to reaſon, than the writings of all his predeceſſors together, not excepting thoſe of the travellers Xenophon and Plato. CHAP. XL.

The greateſt part of the works of Ariſtotle were doubtleſs compoſed before the Macedonian conqueſt; yet it is not improbable that this extraordinary man, whoſe induſtry was equal to his genius, continually retouched and improved them; and it cannot be imagined that the rich harveſt of facts and obſervations collected by his learned friends who accompanied Alexander, would be overlooked by a philoſopher, who ſeems not only ambitious to eclipſe his predeceſſors and contemporaries, but ſolicitous to leave no gleanings of fame to be acquired by his ſcholars and ſucceſſors.

" Ariſtotle," ſays Lord Bacon [36], " thought, like the Ottoman princes, that he could not reign ſecure, unleſs he deſtroyed all his brethren;" nor was his literary ambition more excluſive than exorbitant. He aſpired to embrace the whole circle of the arts and ſciences, and profeſſed to explain whatever can be known concerning the moral, as well as the material world. Not ſatisfied with extending his empire to the utmoſt verge of intellect, he boldly attempts queſtions beyond all human reſearch, Works of Ariſtotle.

[36] De Augm. Scientiarum, l. iii. c. iv.

with

CHAP. XI.

with the ſame confidence that his pupil entered on a battle. But having to contend with enemies more ſtubborn than the Perſians, his raſhneſs was leſs ſucceſsful than that of Alexander.

His philoſophy.

He divided philoſophy into contemplative and practical. The contemplative or abſtract philoſophy, to which he firſt gave the name of metaphyſics [37], is, from the imperfection in which the text has come down to us, obſcure throughout, and often unintelligible. It comprehended not only the examination of thoſe abſtract ideas, *exiſtence*, *ſubſtance*, *quality*, *genus*, *ſpecies*, &c. which were ſo long and ſo uſeleſsly tortured by the perverſe induſtry of the ſchoolmen, but the general doctrines concerning mind or ſpirit, particularly the mind of the Deity. The human ſoul is treated in a ſeparate work; in which it muſt be acknowledged, that Ariſtotle has made new names, rather than new diſcoveries; and

[37] By ſome writers it is ſuppoſed, that this title was beſtowed on the fourteen books of Ariſtotle, immediately following his Phyſics, by Andronicus of Rhodes, a Peripatetic philoſopher in the age of Auguſtus, who publiſhed the firſt complete edition of Ariſtotle's works. From that time, the various ſubjects treated in theſe fourteen books were conſidered as conſtituting one branch of ſcience. Ariſtotle had divided philoſophy into ſpeculative and practical. The firſt comprehended metaphyſics, which examined the general properties of being, and the eſſence of things ſeparate from matter; phyſics, which examined the nature of material ſubſtances, and the human ſoul; and mathematics, which examined certain properties of body, abſtracted from body. The practical philoſophy of Ariſtotle, which was intended to regulate the intellectual and moral operations of men, comprehended logic, under which he ſeems to have included rhetoric and criticiſm; and ethics, including œconomics and politics. See Strabo, p. 609, and Bayle's Dictonary, article Tyrannion; and the new Analyſis of Ariſtotle's ſpeculative works, prefixed to my tranſlation of his Practical Philoſophy.

the

the doctrine of the immortality is no where better elucidated by this philoſopher, than in the writings of his maſter, Plato. CHAP. XL.

The natural philoſophy of Ariſtotle deſerves the name of metaphyſic, in the modern ſenſe of that word, ſince he explained the laws of the univerſe, by comparing abſtract ideas, not by obſervation and experience. When he deſcends to particulars, he ſpeaks leſs deciſively concerning the motions and magnitudes of the heavenly bodies, than many of his predeceſſors. With the anatomy of man and other animals, he was well acquainted, conſidering the groſs errors which generally prevailed in the age in which he lived. Chemiſtry was not yet cultivated as a ſcience. Since the introduction of the ideal philoſophy, men had ceaſed to *obſerve* nature; it could not therefore be expected that they ſhould *imitate* her operations, and examine her by the teſt of experiment. In mathematics, Ariſtotle appears to have been leſs verſed than his precurſors, Pythagoras and Plato; although in the invention of the art of ſyllogiſm, he diſplays a perſeverance of mental energy, which, had it been directed to the mathematical ſciences, might have produced the greateſt diſcoveries. Phyſics.

The ſcepticiſm of his contemporary Pyrrho, and ſtill more the captious ſophiſtry of the Eriſtics, might naturally engage Ariſtotle to examine with particular attention the nature of truth, and the means of defending it againſt the attacks of declamation and the ſnares of ſubtlety. He under-

took.

CHAP XL.

took, therefore, the arduous taſk, of reſolving all reaſoning into its primary elements, and of deducing from thence the rules by which every concluſion muſt be connected with its premiſes, in order to render it legitimate. This bold deſign he accompliſhed; having erected, on a ſingle axiom, a larger ſyſtem of abſtract truths, all fortified by demonſtration, than were ever invented and perfected by any other man. The axiom from which he ſets out, and in which the whole terminates, is, that whatever is predicated of a genus, may be predicated of every ſpecies and individual contained under it. But the application of this axiom is for the moſt part ſufficiently obvious, without the rules of Ariſtotle; whoſe logic, how ſucceſsful ſoever it might prove againſt the ſubtleties of the Sophiſts and *Eriſtics*, contributes little to the formation of the underſtanding, and nothing to the judicious obſervation of man or nature, on which all uſeful diſcoveries muſt be founded.

His critical and moral works

From the general wreck of literature, in which many of Ariſtotle's writings periſhed [38], had nothing been ſaved but the works above mentioned, it muſt be confeſſed that the preceptor of Alexander would not greatly merit the attention of hiſtory. In his abſtract or metaphyſical philoſophy, we have often to lament vaſt efforts miſ-ſpent, and great genius miſapplied. But, in his critical and moral, and above all, in his political works, we find the ſame penetrating and comprehenſive mind, the ſame ſub-

[38] See Bayle's Dictionary, article Tyrannion; and the Life of Ariſtotle prefixed to my tranſlation of his Ethics and Politics.

tlety of reaſoning, and vigour of intellect, directed to objects of the greateſt importance and moſt extenſive utility. The condition of the times in which he lived, and the opportunities peculiar to himſelf, conſpired with the gifts of nature, and the habits of induſtry, to raiſe him to that eminence, which was acknowledged by his contemporaries, and admired by poſterity. CHAP XL.

He was born in the firſt year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad, at Stagira, a provincial city of Macedon, and educated at the court of Pella, where his father was king's phyſician. In his early youth, he was ſent to Athens, and remained there twenty years, an aſſiduous ſcholar of Plato, in a city where literature and the fine arts were cultivated with ſingular ſucceſs, and where the philoſophic ſpirit, though often improperly directed, flouriſhed in the utmoſt vigour. Selected by the diſcernment of Philip to guide and confirm the promiſing diſpoſitions of his admired ſon, he returned to his native country, and continued eight years at the Macedonian court. Whatever benefit accrued to Alexander from the inſtructions of Ariſtotle, it is certain that the latter derived great advantages from the gratitude of his royal pupil. Of this, ſeveral proofs have already occurred; and perhaps it may be aſcribed to the munificence of Alexander, that his preceptor was enabled to form a library [39], a work of prodigious expence in that and the ſucceeding age, and in which he could only be rivalled His great opportunities of improvement. A. C. 368.

[39] Strabo.

by

CHAP. XL.

by the Egyptian and Pergamenian kings. But the library of Ariſtotle was collected for uſe, not merely for oſtentation [40].

His long reſidence at Athens:

The laſt fourteen years of his life he ſpent moſtly at Athens, ſurrounded with every aſſiſtance which men [41] and books could afford him, for proſecuting his philoſophical inquiries. The glory of Alexander's name, which then filled the world, enſured tranquillity and reſpect to the man whom he diſtinguiſhed as his friend; but, after the premature death of that awful protector, the invidious jealouſy of prieſts and ſophiſts inflamed the malignant and ſuperſtitious fury of the Athenian populace; and the ſame odious paſſions which proved fatal to the offenſive [42] virtue of Socrates, fiercely aſſailed the fame and merit of Ariſtotle. To avoid the cruelty of perſecution, he ſecretly withdrew himſelf to Chalcis, in Eubœa. This meaſure was ſufficiently juſtified by a prudent regard to his perſonal ſafety; but leſt his conduct ſhould appear unmanly, when contraſted with the firmneſs of Socrates, in a ſimilar ſituation, he condeſcended to apologiſe for his flight, by ſaying, that he was unwilling to afford the Athenians a ſecond op-

and death. Olym. [illegible] A. C. 32[illegible]. Ætat. 63.

[40] The Egyptian and Pergamenian kings were lovers rather of books than of learning. They conſidered a great library as contributing to the ſuperfluous magnificence of royalty. Vid. Galen. Comment. ii. in Hippocrat. de Natur. Hom.

[41] Ariſtotle probably had many aſſiſtants in his philoſophical inquiries and compoſitions. Ὁ δε σοφος, και καθ' αυτον ων, δυναται θεωρειν· βελτιον δ' ισως συνεργους εχων. Ethic. Nicom. l. x. c. vii.

[42] Virtutem incolumen odimus
Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi. HORACE.

portunity

portunity "to ſin againſt philoſophy [43]." He ſeems to have ſurvived his retreat from Athens only a few months: vexation and regret probably ſhortened his days [44]. CHAP. XL.

Philoſophical ſects eſtabliſhed at Athens.

Notwithſtanding the occaſional perſecutions of ſpeculative men, philoſophy had fixed its roots too deeply in Athens, to be extirpated by the temporary phrenzy of a capricious populace. Theophraſtus calmly ſucceeded Ariſtotle in the Peripatos, or walk of the Lyceum, from which place their followers retained the name of Peripatetics [45]. At the ſame time, Zeno taught *virtue* in the Stoa, or Portico, from which his diſciples derived the appellation of Stoics [46]. Epicurus explained *pleaſure* in thoſe well-known gardens, which were diſtinguiſhed by his name [47]. The followers of Diogenes, the Cynic, ſtill aſſembled in the Cynoſarges [48]; Speuſippus and Xenocrates ſucceeded Plato in the academy [49]; and even Pyrrho of Elis, founder of the ſceptical ſect, who had accompanied Alexander in his eaſtern expedition, and ſhared the munificence of that prince [50], be-

Olymp. cxx.

[43] Αμαρτανειν περι την Φιλοσοφιαν. Ælian, l.iii. c.vi.

[44] Laert. l.v. in Ariſtot. & Auctor. citat. apud Brucker. Hiſtor. Philoſoph. vol.i. p.787, & ſeqq.

[45] The common opinion, that the followers of Ariſtotle were called Peripatetics, εκ της Περιπατου, "ex deambulatione," adopted by Cicero and others, is refuted by the authors cited by Brucker, l.i. p.787.

[46] Laert. vii. 5.

[47] Cicero ad Attic. l.ii. epiſt. 24.

[48] Idem, ibid.

[49] Suidas in Speuſipp. Laert. l.iv. c.1, & ſeqq.

[50] Sextus Empiric. Pyrrhon Hypotyp. l.i. c.iii.

CHAP. XL.

came, after the death of his benefactor, a citizen of Athens [51]. Thus did that illuſtrious city, after the extinction of its freedom, and of its military glory, ſtill maintain its pre-eminence in literature, philoſophy, and the fine arts. In the age of Alexander, Athens, as the ſeat of learning, aſſumed that preciſe form, which it exactly preſerved ſeven centuries, till the deſtructive invaſion of Greece by Alaric, and the Goths. For it is worthy of obſervation, that the philoſophers, who, during this long interval, perpetuated the ſeveral ſects, ſubmiſſively followed the opinions of their reſpective maſters. Soon after the age of Alexander, genius diſappeared; literature and the arts alike degenerated; no new ſect aroſe; few innovations, and thoſe unſucceſsful, were attempted [52]: and thus the period, which has been aſſigned for the termination of the preſent work, ſeems to have bounded the progreſs of the human mind; whether, according to the obſervation of Longinus, becauſe liberty is the beſt nurſe of genius, and ſingularly adapted, by cheriſhing the emulation and the hopes, to excite the energies, of thoſe born to true excellence [53]; or becauſe, in the words of a great philoſopher, "there is a pitch of exaltation, as well as of depreſſion, to which, when any nation has attained, its affairs neceſſarily return in an oppoſite direction."

A. D. 396. Decline of genius.

[51] Laert. in Pyrrhon.

[52] See ſupplement to my New Analyſis of Ariſtotle's ſpeculative Philoſophy.

[53] Long. de Sublim. ſect. 44.

Inſtead

CHAP. XI.

Tenets of the different ſects.

Inſtead of examining this ſpeculative queſtion, which the world is perhaps ſtill too young to enable us with accuracy to determine, it will better ſuit the deſign of an hiſtorical work to explain the tenets of the different ſchools of philoſophy, then firſt eſtabliſhed in Athens; briefly to relate their various ſucceſs in the world; and to inquire with becoming modeſty, how far thoſe artificial ſyſtems of happineſs correſpond with the natural dictates of unperverted ſentiment, and impartial reaſon.

Tenets of the Peripatetic ſect.

Ariſtotle, the founder of the Peripatetic ſchool, recogniſed, like Socrates and Plato, the dignity of human nature, and placed the chief happineſs of man, not in the agreeableneſs of his paſſive ſenſations, but in the proper exerciſe [54] of his intellectual and moral powers. According to Ariſtotle, the habit of this exerciſe, directed by right reaſon, conſtituted the higheſt excellence of man, in the ſame manner as the excellence of other animals, and even of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms, reſulted from the perfection of thoſe qualities, by which they are reſpectively diſtinguiſhed. Yet, as man is a compound being, conſiſting of mind and matter, it ſeemed evident that his well-being muſt in ſome meaſure depend on the condition of his body, and on the means neceſſary to maintain this

[54] The ſtoics adopted, on this occaſion, both the ſentiments and the language of Ariſtotle. Ὁ μεν φιλοδοξος αλλοτριαν ευεργεσιαν ιδιον αγαθον υπολαμβανει· ὁ δε φιληδονος, ιδιαν πεισιν· ὁ δε νουν εχων, ιδιαν πραξιν. M. Anton. vi. 51. "The vain-glorious man places his own happineſs in the ſentiments and actions of others; the voluptuous man, in his paſſive ſenſations; the wiſe man, in his own active exertions."

CHAP. XL.

inferior part of his nature in its moſt perfect ſtate. The abſence of diſeaſe and infirmity, and the proper conſtitution of all our bodily organs, are things deſirable not only on their own account, but as furniſhing us with the opportunity and the means of exerting thoſe mental energies, from which our principal felicity reſults. In the ſame manner, the goods of fortune, wealth, friends, and other external advantages, are deſirable not only as contributing to the ſupply of our bodily wants, but as the inſtruments through which a wiſe man is enabled to exerciſe his virtues, and accompliſh his purpoſes. Amidſt great calamities, Ariſtotle required not that perfect ſelf-command to which ſome philoſophers pretended. He allowed a moderate degree of perturbation, as ſuitable to the weakneſs of human nature. In the preſent conſtitution of things, he thought a certain ſenſibility of paſſion not only excuſable, but neceſſary; ſince reſentment enabled us to repel injuries[56], and grief for paſt misfortunes made us vigilant to prevent the future evils that might otherwiſe overtake us. But although this great philoſopher acknowleged the influence of fortune in human affairs, and thought it impoſſible for the firmneſs of men to remain unmoved amidſt the miſeries of Priam[57]; he main-

[56] Ουτε γαρ εκ της ευδαιμονιας αιρησεται ραδιως, ουτε υπο των τυχοντων ατυχηματων, αλλ' υπο μεγαλων και πολλων. Ethic. Nicom. l. 1. c. 5.

[57] To bear inſults tamely, was regarded as highly ungraceful, and becoming only the character of a ſlave. Το προπηλακιζομενον ανεχεσθαι ανδραποδωδες. Ethic. Nicom. iv. 2.

Ου τυχας Πριαμικας. Ariſtot. Ethic. Nicom. p. 40.

CHAP. XI.

tained, however, that we ourſelves were the principal architects of our own happineſs. The attainment of this great object depended far more on our own thoughts and reflections, which were ever and intimately preſent with us, and on the conſtitution of our own minds, which were in ſome meaſure ſubject to our own direction and controul, than on our external ſituation and circumſtances, which only affected us incidentally, and over which we commonly enjoyed but little power, and ſometimes none. The perfection of our virtue, which was entirely our own work, ſhone forth with peculiar luſtre amidſt the gloom of unmerited calamity. When we bore it with becoming patience, we rejoiced in our own fortitude; and this inward pleaſure often deſtroyed, always deadened the ſmart of external wounds. Aſſaulted by the moſt terrible afflictions, a wiſe man would not deſerve indeed the epithet of *happy;* yet neither could he be called *miſerable,* ſince he would ſtill diſdain to commit anything odious or baſe. Philoſophy, which profeſſes to teach us the art of enjoying life, muſt therefore diſregard ſuch circumſtances as we can neither govern nor change, and confine itſelf to that part which we can regulate and controul. It muſt withdraw our attention from external objects, and fix it on ourſelves.

Diviſion of the mental powers.

To know himſelf, man muſt know the powers with which he is endowed. Of theſe we poſſeſs ſome in common with other animals [59], and others in common even with the inanimate parts of na-

[59] The το αισθητικον, the powers of ſenſation, &c.

CHAP. XL.

ture[60]. In none of thoſe, it is evident, can the proper employment of man conſiſt, but rather in ſuch faculties as, being peculiar to himſelf, diſtinguiſh and ennoble humanity. Theſe characteriſtic excellences of our ſpecies all refer, either to the underſtanding, or to the will[61]; the firſt poſſeſſes reaſon eſſentially in itſelf, the ſecond is capable of being combined and aſſimilated with this divine principle. From the two powers of the underſtanding and the will are reſpectively derived two claſſes of virtues, the intellectual and the moral. Sagacity, penetration, intelligence, wiſdom, are virtues of the underſtanding; gentleneſs, temperance, fortitude, juſtice, are virtues of the heart. The former claſs conſiſts in the proper diſpoſition and habit[62] of the intellectual part of the ſoul; the latter, in the proper diſpoſition and habit of the deſires and affections, which being formed ſubordinate to reaſon, and capable of liſtening to its dictates, then only perform their duty, when, like obedient ſubjects, they cheerfully obſerve the commands of their ſovereign. The intellectual virtues depend chiefly on education and exerciſe; the moral proceed entirely from habit, from which they derive their name[63]. It is by practiſing juſtice,

Intellectual and moral virtues.

[60] The το θρεπτικον, &c. the powers of nutrition, &c.

[61] I have ventured to uſe this word to expreſs the το ορεκτικον of Ariſtotle, the ſeat of the appetites, affections, and paſſions.

[62] Επαινουμεν δε και τον σοφον κατα την εξιν· των εξεων δε τας επαινετας, αρετας λεγομεν. Ethic. Nicom. l. i. c. ult.

[63] In explaining the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, the learned reader will perceive that I have tranſlated, as literally as poſſible, the energetic expreſſions of its author. Ηθικος εθος; moralis, mos. The ſame

justice, that we become just; by practising temperance, that we become temperate; by practising

CHAP. XL.

same holds not in English. The words ἀρετὴ in Greek, and *virtus* in Latin, are of very general import, denoting any praise-worthy disposition, habit, or quality, of body or mind, intellectual or moral. The indeterminate use of these words has occasioned strange confusion. The late ingenious Mr. Hume, in his Inquiry into the Principles of Morals, which, in other respects, he justly considers as the most valuable of his writings, enters into a large deduction, to prove that all virtues are praised and recommended as useful or agreeable. These qualities constitute, according to him, the proper definition, the very essence of virtue, and all other distinctions are frivolous. To justify this paradox, he alleges the authority of Greek poets and philosophers, who apply the term *virtue* to bodily strength or address, to memory, judgment, sagacity, &c. as well as to justice, humanity, charity. This indeed is true, but the Greeks distinguished between the virtues of the body, and those of the mind, and the mental virtues they divided into the intellectual and moral. Aristotle characterises moral virtue as a voluntary habit, and says, that moral approbation is excited only by the praise worthy habit of such affections and actions as originate in our selves, and depend on no extrinsic cause. See Aristot. Magn. Moral. l. i. c. xv. and his commentator, Andronicus Rhodius, p. 89. and the Ethics to Nicomachus throughout. Mr. Hume, therefore, is justly reproved by Dr. Beattie, for saying, "that the ancient moralists made no material distinction among the different species of mental endowments and defects." See Hume's Inquiry, vol. ii. p. 387. But although the ancients, and Aristotle in particular, make very material distinctions between moral and intellectual virtues, yet, in his zeal for the good cause, Dr. Beattie goes too far in asserting, "that though they considered both the moral and intellectual virtues as necessary to the formation of a perfect character, and *sometimes* discoursed of both in the same treatise or system, yet they deemed *the latter valuable only as means to qualify us for the former, and insignificant or even odious, when they failed to answer this end*." See Essay on Truth, p. 425. First of all, according to the Greek moralists, it is impossible ever to treat of the moral virtue as distinct from the intellectual, since the former could not exist without a mixture of reason or intellect. Ethic. Nicom. passim; and particularly l. iii. c. ii. Secondly, The intellectual virtues were so far from being esteemed only as means to qualify us for the moral, that Aristotle considers the exercise of the former independently of the latter, as constituting our highest perfection and happiness. Ethic. Nicom. l. x. c. vi.

CHAP. XI.

courage, that we become courageous. Hence the wonderful power of legiſlation, and early inſtitution, by which the Cretans, the Spartans, and ſome other nations, where honourably diſtinguiſhed among the reſt of mankind; and by which ſuch ſtates as ſhall wiſely imitate their example, may ſtill reach the ſame elevation of character, and ſtill acquire the ſame renown: "For it is not a matter of little moment, how we are accuſtomed in youth; much depends on that, or rather all."

Moral virtue neither natural nor contrary to nature.

The moral virtues, it is evident, are not implanted by nature; for that which is eſtabliſhed by nature, cannot be eſſentially changed by cuſtom. Heavy bodies, which, by the law of nature, deſcend, cannot be habituated to mount upwards; nor can fire, which naturally aſcends, be taught by habit to move in a contrary direction. The ſame holds concerning all the other laws by which nature governs her works. Our ſenſes, and other natural gifts have the *power* of performing their ſeveral functions, before they exert it; and they retain this power, although we ſhould allow them to remain inactive. But virtue, like all practical arts, can be acquired and preſerved by practice only. It is neither natural, nor contrary to nature. We are born capable of attaining it, but the invaluable attainment muſt be made and perfected by action. Yet the greater part of thoſe who aſpire to this ineſtimable prize, have recourſe to vain ſpeculations, flattering themſelves that this is philoſophy. Their conduct reſembles that of a patient, who ſhould carefully liſten to his phyſician,

ſician, but do nothing which he preſcribed. By ſuch medicine, it is not poſſible to cure the diſorders of the body, nor, by ſuch philoſophy, thoſe of the mind. CHAP. XL.

Virtue, as a matter of practice, cannot be reduced to metaphyſical preciſion. It is to be obſerved, however, that all the virtues depend on the propriety of the affections from which they ariſe; and that this propriety conſiſts in a certain point or centre, from which the deviations may be innumerable. The vices, therefore, many of which are without names, are far more numerous than the virtues. In general, virtue may be conceived to lie in a mean betwixt the extremes of too much and too little; and this health of the mind reſembles bodily health and ſtrength, which are deſtroyed by exceſs or defect of nouriſhment or of exerciſe. Thus, to fear every thing is cowardly; to fear nothing is audacious; courage requires that we ſhould fear only ſuch objects as are truly formidable, and only in that degree in which they ought to be feared. In the ſame manner, he who is too much affected by objects of pleaſure, and ſeizes every opportunity to enjoy them, is called intemperate; he who is too little affected by ſuch objects and refuſes every opportunity to enjoy them, may be called *inſenſible*[67]. Temperance teaches us to purſue only ſuch pleaſures as we ought, Wherein it conſiſts.

[67] Ἀναισθητος, and the abſtract thence derived, denoted the particular vice deſcribed in the text.

CHAP. XL.

at proper times, in proper places, and on proper occaſions. According to the ſame view of things, generoſity lies in the middle between avarice and profuſion; modeſty, between pride and diffidence; mildneſs, between iraſcibility and ſoftneſs; magnificence, between oſtentation and parſimony; *popularity*, between forbidding diſdain and officious adulation; in a word, every virtue conſiſts in a mean, equally remote from two vicious extremes [64].

How it muſt be attained.

Conſidered as the quality of an action, virtue conſiſts in the propriety of that affection from which the action proceeds; when the affection is neither too ſtrong nor too weak, but has preciſely that degree of ſtrength, which right reaſon teaches us to approve. As the quality of an action, virtue conſiſts, therefore, in mediocrity; but as the quality of a perſon, it conſiſts in the habit of this mediocrity, ſince in judging perſons and characters, we regard not particular acts and feelings, but ſuch acts and feelings as are frequent and habitual. We may perform many virtuous actions, without being virtuous men. The moſt worthleſs of human kind ſometimes indulge the propenſity to pity and humanity. But whoever acts right, merely from feeling, will alſo, from feeling, more frequently act wrong. The ſentiments of nature, which prompt us to take care of our children, to relieve objects in diſtreſs, and to perform many important duties of morality, like-

[64] Ethic. Nicom. l.ii. c.i. & ſeqq.

wiſe

wiſe prompt us to gratify the vileſt and moſt brutal of our paſſions. Beſides this, there are many, and thoſe the moſt important virtues, the exerciſe of which is not primarily attended with pleaſure. To ſupport labour, to endure pain, to encounter difficulties and dangers, which wiſdom and fortitude, on many occaſions, require, are not obviouſly recommended by any natural deſire; nor is the practice of ſuch duties immediately agreeable. It is ſtill leſs agreeable, in the firſt inſtance, to curb and reſtrain our natural appetites for pleaſure, which is the proper office of temperance; nor can that vigilant circumſpection, and ever watchful attention to the moſt remote conſequences of our actions, which is eſſential to the virtue of prudence, be acquired without trouble and care, without many painful efforts and many difficult ſtruggles. Yet it is the nature of all theſe virtues, as well as of the hardeſt leſſons of juſtice, patriotiſm, and friendſhip, to become, through habit, agreeable; and the only ſure teſt that we have acquired them, is, that they be practiſed with pleaſure. With good reaſon, therefore, Plato defines education to be the art of teaching men to rejoice and grieve *as they ought*; for, though there be three ends ultimately agreeable, the pleaſant, the honourable, and uſeful; yet honour and utility are likewiſe purſued as pleaſures[65].

CHAP. XL.

The moſt extenſive part of virtue is employed, therefore, in regulating our deſire of pleaſure, and

[65] Ethic. Nicom. l. vii. c. xi. & ſeqq.

averſion

CHAP. XL.

aversion to pain. It is also the most difficult; for, as Heraclitus observes, it is harder to combat pleasure than anger. The irascible passions are always moved by some appearance of reason; and, in their most furious excesses, still affect some deference for their sovereign. They often, indeed, mistake his intentions; and, like hasty servants, fly into action, without waiting his last orders. But pleasure passively obeys sensation, without regarding reason at all. The mischief is the more dangerous, being produced by the first object of natural desire; for the love of pleasure is implanted in our frame; the germ expands with our nature; and unless counteracted in due time, becomes ingrained in our constitution, every part of which it pervades and stains. Habit alone can counteract those dangerous propensities of nature. Habit can enable us to reject dishonourable or hurtful pleasures, to prefer honourable or useful pains; for, as the poet Euenus says, "there is a long continued exercise of attention, which finally becomes nature[66]."

The hardest task of moral virtue.

Intellectual virtue the purest

The moral virtues cannot, according to Aristotle, subsist without some mixture of the intellectual;

[66] Euenus was an elegiac poet of Paros, of whom few fragments remain. The verses translated in the text are,

Φημι πολυχρονιον μελετην φιλε και δη
Ταυτην ανθρωποισι τελευτωσαν φυσιν ειναι.

Habits, by long-continued care impress,
Are strong as nature in the human breast.

This is better expressed by another Greek proverb: Ἑλου βιον αριστον, ηδυ δε αυτον ἡ συνηθεια ποιησει. Plut. Moral. p. 602. "Choose the best life, and custom will render it agreeable."

but the latter may ſubſiſt alone and independent; and according to both Ariſtotle and Plato, the pureſt and moſt permanent felicity of which man is ſuſceptible, reſults from the exerciſe of his rational powers upon ſubjects of abſtract ſpeculation. The labours of the ſtateſman or general, the exertions of the legiſlator or patriot, all refer to ſome end or purpoſe, the attainment of which may be prevented by fortune, or fruſtrated by the weakneſs or wickedneſs of men. The practice of juſtice, generoſity, temperance, and fortitude, requires many conditions, and ſuppoſes a variety of ſituations, which it is not always in our power to command. The juſt or generous man muſt have objects to whom he may extend the effects of his juſtice or generoſity; he muſt poſſeſs the means by which to exerciſe thoſe virtues, which all participate of frail mortality; ſince, though directed by prudence, they are impelled by paſſion, and reſult from the exigencies of our preſent corporeal ſtate. But the energies of contemplative wiſdom are perennial and pure, like the intellectual ſource from which they ſpring. Not ſubſervient to remote purpoſes, or contingent ends, they are immediately agreeable on their own account; and, on every ſide, round and complete in themſelves. If the proper exerciſe of every member or faculty enlivens the ſenſe of our exiſtence, and thereby yields us a perception of pleaſure, how wonderfully delightful muſt be the exerciſe of the intellect, which renders us ſenſible of the divine principle within us? To live according to nature, is to live according to the

CHAP. XI.

and moſt permanent ſource of happineſs.

nobleſt

CHAP. XL.

noblest part of our nature, which, doubtless, is the mind. To live thus, is the life of a god; for, human as we are, we ought not, according to the vulgar exhortation, to regard only human things; but, though mortal, strive to put on immortality [67]; assured that, as the mind chiefly forms the man, he who most cultivates his mind, is the best disposed in himself, and the most agreeable to the gods [68].

Estimate of Aristotle's philosophy.

Such is the philosophy of Aristotle, lofty sometimes, and imposing, but in general, less erect and independent than that of Socrates and Plato, who preceded him; less proud and boastful than that of the Stoics, or even the Epicureans, by whom he was followed; and on the whole, perhaps, as unexceptionable as that of any moralist ancient or modern.

Its fate in the world.

It is commonly observed, that Aristotle attained the same authority over the opinions of men, which his pupil Alexander acquired over their persons. But the empire of Alexander was established in his own lifetime, and perished with himself. That of Aristotle did not commence till more than a thousand years after his decease, and continued many centuries. The Peripatetic school subsisted, indeed, without interruption, at Athens; but the

[67] Χρη δε μ κατα τας παραινουντας, ανθρωπινα φρονειν, ανθρωπον ονται, ὐδε θνητα τον θνητον αλλ' εφ' ὁσον ενδεχεται αποθανατιζειν, και ἁπαντα ποιειν κατα το κρατιστον των εν αυτῳ. Ethic. Nicom. l.x. c.vii.

[68] Ὁ δε κατα τον νουν ενεργων, και τουτον θεραπευων, και διακειμενος ἀριστα, κα θεοφιλεστατος ἐοικεν ειναι. Id. c.x. c.viii.

Lyceum never attained there any pre-eminence above the Portico and Academy. When philoſophy was tranſplanted to a more ſplendid theatre in Rome, men of ſpeculation and ſcience generally preferred Plato to Ariſtotle[69]; while many of the moſt celebrated characters of the republic enliſted themſelves under the banners of Zeno or Epicurus. With the fall of Roman liberty, philoſophy, as well as literature and the fine arts, ſlowly declined; and under the emperors, particularly in the ſecond and third centuries of the Chriſtian æra, the moſt extravagant of Plato's ſpeculations were the doctrines beſt adapted to the condition of the times, and to the dark and ſhadowy minds of Plotinus, Porphyry, Jamblichus, and other contemplative viſionaries, diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Eclectics, or later Platoniſts, who poſſeſſed the wildneſs without the fancy, and the ſubtilty without the genius, of Plato[70]. During the ſucceeding centuries, the doctrines of Ariſtotle ſlowly gained the aſcendant; but, as had happened to Plato in an earlier period, the moſt frivolous part of Ariſtotle's philoſophy was the higheſt in eſteem during the darkneſs of the middle ages. The deciſive boldneſs of his logic, phyſic, and metaphyſic, ſuited the genius of a church which affected to be univerſal, and the arrogance of a man who pretended to be infallible; and, while the uſeful and

CHAP. XI.

[69] Cicero, paſſim.

[70] Beſides the works of Brucker and Stanley, the learned reader may conſult on this ſubject, profeſſor Meiner's Beytrag uber die Neu Platoniſche Philoſophie. Leipſig, 1782.

practical

CHAP. XL.

practical works of Ariſtotle were neglected, his ſpeculative philoſophy being thus incorporated with the Romiſh ſuperſtition, they long conſpired, with aſtoniſhing ſucceſs, to enthral the human mind.

Coincidence in the opinions of Zeno and Epicurus.

Zeno and Epicurus pretended, as well as Plato and Ariſtotle, to deduce their philoſophy from experience; but their views of nature are leſs perſpicuous, and leſs extenſive; and their concluſions leſs convincing, and leſs reaſonable. For the infinite variety of nature, they ſubſtituted the narrowneſs of their own artificial ſyſtems; and it will ever be the ſcandal of this abſtract philoſophy, that men who boaſted following the ſame path, ſhould have reached ſuch oppoſite goals; the ſect of Zeno having diſcovered, by all its reſearches, that pain was not an evil; and the ſect of Epicurus, that pleaſure was the only good; the Stoics, that virtue alone was truly valuable in itſelf, and deſirable on its own account; the Epicureans, that virtue in itſelf was really of no value, and merely deſirable for the ſake of pleaſure. Yet, amidſt the ſtriking contradictions of theſe ſects, they agreed in ſpeculative pride, loudly aſſerting, that the philoſophy which they reſpectively taught, was the excluſive road to happineſs. Both required from their imaginary ſage an abſolute command over his paſſions; and both ſuppoſed, that in his preſent ſtate of exiſtence, he could attain this perfection. Zeno and Epicurus alike rejected the doctrine of future rewards and puniſhments, as unneceſſary to their ſyſtem; both juſtified ſuicide; both boaſted of enjoying a felicity equal to that of the gods;

and,

and, in proportion as their principles receded from truth and nature, and flattered that factitious vanity incident to the human heart, they were diffuſed with greater rapidity, more zealouſly embraced and more obſtinately defended [n].

CHAP. XL.

The ſtoic philoſophy.

In examining by what ſhew of reaſon, men, whoſe wiſdom was revered by their contemporaries, could arrive at ſuch extraordinary concluſions, the dignity of *virtue* demands the precedence for Zeno. That philoſopher aſſected to examine, with great accuracy, the natural propenſities of the human race; to obſerve the various changes which individuals underwent in their progreſs from infancy to manhood; to contemplate the effects produced by external cauſes on our internal frame; and, by comparing man with inferior animals, to diſplay the illuſtrious prerogatives which he enjoyed, and the high deſtination which nature had aſſigned him. Self-preſervation, he obſerved, was the univerſal and primary deſire of all animals. In man, this deſire reſpected his body, and all its different members, his mind, and all its different faculties; and prompted him to maintain the whole fabric of his complex being in the moſt perfect condition of which it is capable. Nature had generally attached a pleaſure to the means neceſſary for this purpoſe; but, that we deſired pleaſure for the ſake of preſervation, not preſervation for the ſake of pleaſure, he thought evident from the firſt motions and efforts of all animals, tending to

[n] Laert. in Zenon. & Epicur. Cicero de Finibus, l. i. ii. iii. Plutarch. de Commun. Concept. contra Stoicos.

CHAP. XI.

Love of truth.

prevent diſſolution antecedently to any diſtinct notions of pain or pleaſure [72].

Although, in the order of time, man perhaps firſt felt the propenſities requiſite to the ſafety of his bodily frame, yet, at a very early period, he ſhewed himſelf endowed with deſires of a different, and more exalted kind. Not to mention the obſcure intimations of his love of truth and knowledge during his infant ſtate, in which he applied his ſenſes with great activity to the examination of the objects preſented to him, he naturally learned the uſe of words to denote theſe objects, as well as the reflections of his own mind concerning them; and had no ſooner made this important acquiſition, than he teſtified an ardent curioſity to extend his knowledge, and to enlarge his acquaintance with the nature, the cauſes, the relations, and dependencies of the various claſſes of beings which he beheld around him. From this love and approbation of what is true and ſincere, rather than of the contrary, which he felt to be congenial to his own nature, he readily believed whatever thoſe perſons, with whom he converſed, thought proper to communicate to him; a principle which, though the ſource of innumerable errors and prejudices, ſerved, however, as the only foundation on which his future improvement could be reared.

[72] The principles of the ſtoical philoſophy are explained in Cicero de Finibus, the works of Epictetus, Arrian, Simplicius, and Seneca. In treating of the practical duties of morality, Cicero, in his Offices, chiefly follows the principles of the ſtoics.

CHAP. XL.

In examining the nature and relations of other things, he gradually became ſenſible of his own. His affections, he felt, carried him beyond his own perſon, and he derived happineſs from the happineſs of others, although he received from it no advantage but the pleaſure of beholding it. The ſentiments of juſtice, gratitude, and benevolence, he felt to be agreeable to his nature, to be proper and laudable; the contrary ſentiments, to be diſagreeable to his nature, to be improper and odious. His own good, therefore, was thus pointed out to him, by the original frame of his ſentiments, to be intimately connected with the good of his family, his friends, his country, and the great ſociety of mankind, of which he made part. Enlarging his views ſtill farther, he perceived, that every ſpecies is faſhioned relatively to the element in which it lives; thus fiſhes have fins for the water, birds have wings for the air; and that many of theſe ſpecies are mutually connected with, and reciprocally ſubſervient to, each other, while all of them eſſentially enter into the great plan of nature, and complete the harmony and perfection of that univerſal ſyſtem, to the ſtability of which the order of particular parts, or what, in each ſpecies, and in each individual, is called private good, muſt neceſſarily be ſubordinate. Conſidering the narrowneſs of human capacity, it is not wonderful that many of the connections and dependencies of this univerſal ſyſtem ſhould eſcape our obſervation. But if we confine our view to thoſe objects of which we have the cleareſt apprehenſion, we ſhall find

Social affection.

Univerſal ſyſtem.

CHAP. XI.

find that they all depend on each other, and are united in one ſcheme or conſtitution of things. The individuals of the human race were doubtleſs formed not for themſelves alone. In the different ſexes, the external organization, and ſtill more the inward frame; the correſpondence of parts, and ſtill more the ſympathy of ſentiments, indicate the male and female mutually deſtined for each other. The naked helpleſſneſs of infancy requires the tender cares of a parent. The decrepitude of age loudly demands the kind returns of filial gratitude. In early ages of the world, men, without uniting in ſmall communities, muſt have fallen a prey to the ſavages of the deſert; and, with the growth of theſe communities, ſocial affection naturally makes progreſs; ſince, with the advancement of arts and civility, the bands which unite us to our country are multiplied and ſtrengthened.

Rules of duty thence derived.

In thus contemplating the relations in which he ſtands, man becomes ſenſible of the duties required of him. The voice of nature teaches him (for this is her univerſal law) that the greater good is to be preferred to the leſſer, and the good of the many to that of the few. In applying this rule to all the claſſes of objects ſubmitted to our choice, we live conſiſtently with nature. The goods of the mind, therefore, muſt be preferred to thoſe of the body; and what is called private intereſt muſt yield to that of the public. Even in objects of the ſame claſs, the general law muſt be obſerved. We muſt *prefer* and *reject*, according

to

CHAP. XI.

to the rules of right reaſon, not according to caprice and fancy. In the primary objects of deſire reſpecting the body, health is to be preferred to ſtrength, and ſtrength to agility; and in the ſecondary objects reſpecting this part of our nature, or thoſe which may be employed as inſtruments to procure bodily pleaſures, and ward off bodily pains, ſuch as wealth, power, the good opinion of thoſe with whom we live, and innumerable other circumſtances of a ſimilar kind, we muſt uniformly regulate our conduct by the ſame great principles of preference and rejection [73]. In thus appreciating the objects of deſire, and when all cannot be obtained, in preferring the moſt valuable and honourable; in thus appreciating the objects of averſion, and when all cannot be avoided, in rejecting the moſt hurtful and odious, conſiſt that order and harmony, that juſt balance of affection, and perfect propriety of conduct, which eſſentially contains in it whatever is meritorious, laudable, and happy. It is concerning the primary objects of deſire, indeed, and the means neceſſary to attain them, that this propriety of ſentiment and action is exerciſed; but as thoſe to whom we are introduced are often more valued by us, than thoſe by whom we were made known to them, ſo the duties of wiſdom and virtue, to which we have been, as it were, recommended by

[73] The technical terms of the ſtoical philoſophy, like all terms of art, ſound awkward in languages in which they were not originally invented; nothing can be more natural than the Greek expreſſions, προηγεσθαι and εκλογην.

CHAP. XL.

the original propenſities of our nature, are far moſt eſtimable in themſelves, than all the external advantages which they are fitted to procure. When our lives are harmoniſed to virtue, when we perceive the agreement of our thoughts and actions to propriety and decorum, the beauty of this concord ſtrikes us as infinitely more deſirable than all the ends which it has a tendency to promote: this concord itſelf becomes the great, or rather the ſole, end of all our purſuits; compared with which, health and ſickneſs, riches and poverty, pain and pleaſure, are finally conſidered as objects of little moment, and altogether incapable of ſhaking the ſtability of our happineſs.

It is in vain that men ſeek felicity in thoſe objects which depend not on themſelves; which, even while they poſſeſs, they fear to loſe; and which fortune can either give or take away[*]. The feelings of our own minds, which are ever and intimately preſent to us, muſt always afford the principal ſource of our happineſs or miſery. To a wiſe man, therefore, every condition of external circumſtances, and every ſituation in life, muſt be alike indifferent, ſince there is none wherein he can be placed, in which he may not perform his duty, and render himſelf an object of approbation and applauſe to all rational nature. To feel in our own minds the teſtimony of the whole univerſe in our favour, and to be ſenſible, that whatever may be

[*] [illegible] Epictet. Enchir. c. 8.

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the consequences of our conduct, it has been governed by the great rules which the Divinity prescribes, affords a degree of inward satisfaction, to which the greatest outward prosperity can add nothing worthy of calculation; for as a single drop of water is lost in the broad expanse of the Ægæan, as a single step is disregarded in the immense distance to India, as the light of a taper is eclipsed by the meridian sun [75], so the external conveniences of life, and the advantages pertaining to the body, are overwhelmed, obscured, and lost, in the transcendent excellence and incomparable splendour of virtue.

Those dangers which appear most formidable, and those calamities which appear most dreadful to the vulgar, cannot intimidate or afflict the man who has fortitude to despise the one, and constancy to bear the other. The sage delights in those clouds of adversity, through which his virtue beams forth with peculiar lustre; and rejoices in the kind cruelties of Fortune, which subject him to difficult and glorious combats. Sensible of his own powers, he is happy to measure them against a vigorous antagonist. The victory is not liable to contingencies, but depends on himself alone; a consideration sufficient to support him against the combined strength of countless enemies [76]. When the firm probity of Regulus submitted his perishable body to be burned and lacerated by the Cartha-

[75] The illustrations given by Cic. de Fin.

[76] Ἀνίκητος εἶναι δύνασαι, ἐὰν εἰς μηδένα ἀγῶνα καταβαίνῃς, ὃν οὐκ ἔστι ἐπὶ σοι νικῆσαι. Enchir. c. xxv.

CHAP. XL.

ginians, he well knew that thoſe revengeful Barbarians could not torture his fortitude, his patriotiſm, his magnanimity. His mind, guarded by ſuch an aſſemblage and attendance of virtues, bade defiance to every aſſault. The mind of Regulus ſtill triumphed; and amidſt the painful diſcerption of his frail members, he maintained and fortified the integrity of that part of his nature which properly conſtitutes the man, and in which alone any permanent happineſs or miſery can reſide.

Reſignation.

From the enthuſiaſm naturally inſpired by the beautiful and auguſt forms of benevolence and magnanimity, the ſtoics again returned to the ſpeculations of abſtract philoſophy. In every arrangement or combination of objects, which can be called a conſtitution or ſyſtem, the good of each part, they obſerved, muſt be relative and ſubordinate to that of the whole. To illuſtrate in the conſtitution moſt familiar to us, the body of man, the good of each limb and member, conſidered as ſomething ſeparate and independent, conſiſted in preſerving its natural ſtate, and in never being ſubjected to any fatigue or hardſhip, to any pain or uneaſineſs. But conſidered as the part of a ſyſtem, in the good of which its own is neceſſarily included, this limb or member muſt often ſubmit to great inconveniencies. For the ſake of the whole body, the foot muſt often trample in the dirt, muſt often tread upon thorns, and ſometimes be burned, or lacerated, or even cut off, when ſuch operations are requiſite for the ſafety of the whole ſyſtem. In refuſing to comply, the foot ceaſes to be a foot;

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in the ſame manner do *you* ceaſe to be a man, in ſhrinking from the hardeſt duties required by the intereſt of ſociety. But that ſociety itſelf, as well as every member which it contains, are parts of a larger ſyſtem, that grand harmonious whole, whoſe conſummate order and perfect beauty evince the ſuperintendence of infinite wiſdom and infinite goodneſs. Under ſuch government, no abſolute evil can exiſt; and what appears wrong reſpecting particular parts, muſt neceſſarily be right reſpecting the whole. A wiſe man will therefore be alike ſatisfied with every ſituation in which he may be placed; deeply convinced, that, were he acquainted with the whole connections and dependencies of events, his actual ſituation would, even to himſelf, appear the moſt proper, that could poſſibly be aſſigned him. He uſes, indeed, ſuch means as prudence directs, to avert calamity; but when that is his lot, he cheerfully ſubmits to the wiſe diſpenſation of Providence. The eſtabliſhed order of the univerſe, he knows, is not to be changed by the prayers of men. When *he* prays to the Gods, it is not with a view to alter their wiſe purpoſes concerning him: he prays that they would ſhow him the hardeſt trials with which he muſt contend, and the ſevereſt circumſtances in which he muſt be placed; that, by voluntarily accepting thoſe trials, and voluntarily embracing thoſe circumſtances, he may prove his confidence in their goodneſs, and his perfect reſignation to their ſovereign will[17].

CHAP. XI.

If

Αγε δη με, ω Ζευ και συ ι Πεπρωμενη,
Οποι τοδ' υμιν ειμι διατεταγμενη,
Ως εψομαι σπευδοντος ηδε ακοντος.

This

CHAP. XL.

Command over the passions.

If our own unmerited misfortunes ought never to create in us any uneasiness, so neither ought we to be affected by those of our relations, our friends, or our country. When calamity threatens connections so dear to us, we must exert ourselves strenuously in their behalf; but should our well-meant endeavours be frustrated by circumstances not liable to our controul, it would be highly ungraceful and improper to have recourse to unmanly lamentations. The same law of propriety which prompts our active exertions to the good of others, restrains our passive feelings at the sight of their distress: the former alone can be useful to *them*; the latter would be both hurtful and dishonourable to *ourselves*.

The stoical philosophy imposed therefore an absolute silence on the soft voice of pity[78], as well as on the boisterous dissonance of anger, and on all passions in general, those perturbations and diseases of the mind, which a wise man ought not merely to appease, but utterly to eradicate. As they supposed their imaginary sage capable of attaining this perfection, they inferred, that all duties were alike easy to him. *His* actions were

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This reason is subjoined,

Εαν δε μη εθελω ουκ ηττον ἑψομαι.

"We ought to be willing to obey the Gods, since we *must* obey them, whether we are willing or not."

[78] Epictetus, however, allows the *appearance* of sympathy with objects in distress, but sternly forbids the reality. Μεχρι μεν τοι λογου μη οκνει συμπεριφερεσθαι αυτῳ (viz. the person afflicted) και ἐστω συμπεριστεναξαι, προσεχε μεν τοι μη και εσωθεν συνεπιστεναξης. Epictet. Enchir. c. xxii.

conti-

continually regulated by propriety, and all of them therefore equally laudable; whereas thoſe of a fool, or one who ſubſtituted paſſion and caprice in the ſtead of reaſon and principle, were all equally blameable. This doctrine, which ſo nearly reſembles that of ſome Chriſtian divines, "that the greateſt virtues of the heathens were but ſplendid vices," is the ſource to which all the other paradoxes of the ſtoics may be traced. Both theſe Chriſtians and the ſtoics conſidered good or bad actions as relative only to the cauſe which produces them, the affection or character from which they proceed, not to the conſequences which flow from them, the good or bad effects which they tend to promote. Theſe conſequences and effects, it was obſerved by the ſtoics, depended not on ourſelves. With regard to us, therefore, they were altogether indifferent; and as ſuch, could not poſſibly conſtitute any part of merit or demerit, or become the proper objects of praiſe or cenſure.

Vulgar eſtimate of actions and characters.

The ignorant vulgar, indeed, and as ſuch the ſtoics conſidered all thoſe who were unacquainted with their philoſophy, allowed ſuch contingent circumſtances to influence their appreciation of actions and characters; and hence the extraordinary confuſion introduced into religion and morality. Of two men, equally vicious, the one may be condemned to obſcurity, and bereft of opportunity to exert his wickedneſs; the other may be raiſed to power, which he abuſes, or entruſted with a ſceptre, which becomes an iron rod in his hands. To the bulk of mankind, the ſecond appears a greater

CHAP. XI.

monſter than the firſt. To the philoſopher, they appear equally criminal; but the firſt is a ſtorm which ſpends its rage in vacuity; the ſecond a cloud, not more tempeſtuous, that deſtroys many fair objects accidentally expoſed to its violence. In the ſame manner two men may be equally meritorious, although the one, from the unfavourable circumſtances in which he is placed, may reſemble a clear ſtream rolling through a loneſome ſolitude, while the other, more advantageouſly ſituate with reſpect to external objects, may reſemble a beautiful river flowing through a populous valley, ſupplying the wants of man and other animals, and diffuſing abundance and pleaſure through the contiguous country, which it fertiliſes and adorns.

Corrected by the Stoics.

The injudicious eſtimation of virtues and vices, by the effects which they tend to produce, is the ſource of that extravagant admiration on the one hand, and that exceſſive ſeverity on the other, which univerſally characteriſe the judgments of the vulgar. But a wiſe man, who examines the firſt principles of action in the human heart, will neither be dazzled by the ſplendour of heroes and patriots, nor provoked to undue revenge againſt illuſtrious criminals[79]. The civil magiſtrate, who is intruſted with the intereſt of ſociety, and who has that intereſt always in view, muſt chiefly regard external actions, and conſider *them* as ſufficient indications of the inward affections and character. It is his buſineſs to regulate the lives, not to purify

[79] Σημειον προκοπτοντος, ουδενα ψεγειν, ουδενα επαινειν, &c. Enchir. c. lxxii.

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the hearts, of men. But we may be assured that He, who can penetrate deeper than an earthly judge, governs the moral world by more refined principles, and dispenses rewards and punishments according to a more accurate standard[80]. To avert his anger, superstition commands us to repair, or compensate, the bad consequences of our misconduct, a thing often impracticable: to regain his approbation, and that of our own breasts, philosophy exhorts us to fix our chief attention, not on effects which are transitory, but on the cause, which is permanent; to be less anxious about wiping off the stain of particular sins, than solicitous to destroy the source from which they all flow. When we have accomplished this great purpose, we have reached the perfection of our nature. For the Deity, who has enjoined virtue as our duty, has placed our happiness in virtue. In performing the task assigned us, we necessarily attain our reward[81]. CHAP. XL.

Such is the philosophy of the stoics, which beside containing several contradictions which all the subtlety of the sect was unable to reconcile, evidently supposes a degree of perfection far beyond the weakness of humanity. The system of Epicurus, not less artificial in its texture, though humbler in its origin, is equally magnificent in its conclusions[82]. Like the lowly plant, Philosophy of Epicurus.

[80] Epictet. Enchir. c. xxxviii.

[81] [illegible]i ita est, ut neque quisquam, nisi bonus vir, & omnes boni beati sint; quid philosophiâ magis colendum, aut quid est virtute divinius. Cicero de Fin. l. iii. ad fin.

[82] Diogen. Laert. in Aristip. & Epicur.

which,

CHAP. XL.

which, at firſt feebly emerging from the ground, gradually riſes to a ſtately tree towering to the ſky, the philoſophy of Epicurus, at firſt reſtricting the primary objects of natural deſire and averſion to bodily pleaſure and pain, by degrees expands itſelf into the faireſt forms of virtue, and enforces the ſevereſt leſſons of duty. That pleaſure and pain are the univerſal objects of deſire and averſion is a truth, he obſerved, powerfully atteſted by the conſenting voice of all animated nature. Not only men, but children, and even brute beaſts, could they emit articulate ſounds, would declare and cry out, that pleaſure is the ſovereign good, and pain the greateſt evil[a]. That they are, not only the greateſt and moſt univerſal, but the *ſole* ultimate objects of deſire and averſion, Epicurus endeavoured to prove by analyſing our paſſions, and actions, and virtues, all of which, he pretended, had, in the laſt inſtance, nothing farther in view than to procure bodily pleaſure, and avoid bodily pain. If we deſire power and wealth, it is becauſe power and wealth furniſh us with innumerable means of enjoyment. Senſible that the good-will of the ſociety in which we live, is neceſſary to our ſecurity, we ſtrive aſſiduouſly to acquire it, cultivate friendſhip, exerciſe benevolence, and practiſe with diligence and alacrity all thoſe ſocial virtues eſſential to the public ſafety, in which our own is included. When it is neceſſary to reject a preſent pleaſure, in order to attain a greater in future, temperance muſt moderate the eagerneſs of

[a] Cicero de Finibus, l. 1. c. ix. & paſſim.

deſire;

deſire; and, when it is neceſſary to encounter a preſent pain, in order to avoid a greater in future, fortitude muſt controul the dictates of puſillanimity. Juſtice teaches us to abſtain from injuring others, as the only condition on which we can eſcape being injured by them. And prudence, which, according to Epicurus is the queen of all the virtues, and to which juſtice, temperance, and fortitude, are barely handmaids and attendants, invariably points out to us, and enforces, that courſe of action which is moſt conducive to our private comfort and happineſs. This courſe of action is acknowledged by all moraliſts to conſiſt in the practice of virtue; ſo that virtue, according to Epicurus, is the only true wiſdom, and vice the moſt ſhort-ſighted levity, and weakeſt folly.

His analyſis of pleaſure and pain.

To illuſtrate this doctrine, he obſerved, that though all the modifications of hope and fear ultimately refer to the ſenſations of bodily pleaſure or pain, yet the pleaſures and pains of the mind are infinitely more important than their originals. The body can only feel the ſenſation of the preſent moment, which can never be of great importance; whereas the mind recollects the paſt, and anticipates the future. If our mental frame, therefore, be properly adjuſted, if our ſentiments and judgments be duly regulated, it is a matter of little moment how our bodies may be diſpoſed; we ſhall deſpiſe its pleaſures, and even ſet its pains at defiance. If pain be violent, experience teaches us that it muſt be ſhort; it cannot be continued long without becoming moderate, and admitting many intervals

CHAP. XL.

tervals of eaſe; beſides, death is always within our reach, and ready at a call to deliver us, whenever life becomes a burden.

Bold pretenſions of his philoſophy.

By this kind of philoſophical chemiſtry, Epicurus extracted from the groſſeſt materials, the moſt ſublime principles of wiſdom and virtue. His philoſophy impoſed abſolute ſilence on the paſſions; ſince no ſtate, and, therefore, not the little republic of man, can be happy in ſedition. In this tranquillity of mind, he boaſted a felicity which external pleaſures might vary, but could not increaſe; and his ſecurity of enjoyment he aſſerted to be equally firm and unalterable with that of the Gods, ſince the moſt unbounded duration could not afford greater happineſs than aroſe from reflecting, that all our pleaſures and pains are confined within a narrow ſpan. Having adopted the atomic philoſophy of Democritus, he rendered it ſubſervient to his morality. The phænomena of nature, he fancied, might be explained by the figures and motions of the ſmall particles of matter; and as the univerſe aroſe, ſo did it continue, without the interference of the Gods, thoſe celeſtial beings, who, enjoying complete happineſs in themſelves, and totally independent on the actions of men, are neither gratified by our virtues, nor offended by our crimes. Confiding in the certainty of theſe ſpeculations, he trampled under foot the ſuperſtitious terrors of the vulgar, and fortified his mind againſt the fear of death[84].

[84] Lucretius, paſſim.

CHAP. XL.

His character.

Such were the tenets of Epicurus, than whom no philoſopher was ever more admired and beloved by his diſciples, or more cordially attached to them in affectionate eſteem. He is deſcribed as a man of the moſt amiable diſpoſition, of great gentleneſs and humanity; and, like Eudoxus, who preceded him, and who inculcated the ſame looſe doctrines of religion and morality, extremely temperate with regard to pleaſure; a circumſtance which failed not to add much reputation to his philoſophy. In his character, the firm and manly, were united with the gentler, virtues. When grievouſly afflicted with the ſtone, he bore the agony incident to that diſeaſe with the greateſt conſtancy; and, in the laſt day of his life, when his pain had reached a degree beyond which he could conceive none greater, wrote to his friend Hermachus [85], and recommended to him the children of his favourite diſciple Metrodorus, aſſuring him, at the ſame time, that as to himſelf, he ſtill was happy, ſince the ſmart of his bodily ſufferings was more than compenſated by the pleaſures of his mind, and particularly by the agreeable remembrance of his diſcoveries; a declaration, however inconſiſtent it may be deemed with his opinions, highly honourable to the man.

Philoſophy of Pyrrho.

Such were the philoſophical ſyſtems reſpecting life and happineſs, by which the more liberal part of mankind long affected to regulate their ſentiments and conduct. The exceſſive ſcepticiſm of Pyrrho, which none could reduce to practice without merit-

[85] Vid. Diogen. Laert. l. x. ſect. ix. & Cic. de Finibus, l. ii. c. xxx. & ſeqq.

CHAP. XL.

ing the charge of infanity, ſeems never, even in theory, to have had much vogue among the ſpeculatiſts of antiquity. In matters of doubtful evidence, indeed, a prudent ſuſpenſion of judgment had been recommended by Socrates, enforced by Plato, and extended to ſubjects of every kind by their followers Arceſilas and Carneades [86]. Theſe philoſophers, however, in denying certainty, ſtill admitted probability, which they thought ſufficient for regulating our judgments and actions. But the extravagant Pyrrho was dogmatical only in maintaining, that no one opinion was more probable than another. The non-exiſtence of ſenſible qualities, which had been proved by Democritus [87], Protagoras [88], and Ariſtippus [89], and which is commonly ſuppoſed a modern diſcovery, becauſe the contrary opinion obtained among the ſchoolmen, probably led Pyrrho to deny the reality likewiſe of moral qualities and diſtinctions. As heat and cold, taſtes and colours, had no external exiſtence in bodies, and were mere ideas of the mind; in the ſame manner, beauty and deformity, virtue and vice, happineſs

[86] Becauſe Socrates and Plato doubted ſome things, theſe philoſophers doubted all. Vid. Cicer. Acad. l. i. They formed, what was called, the New Academy, which held the ſame tenets with the old only aſſerting them leſs poſitively.

[87] See Sextus Empiricus, p. 399.

[88] Pyrrhon. Hypot. l. i. ſect. 216.

[89] Præterea quoniam nequeunt ſine luce colores
Eſſe, neque in luce exiſtunt primordia rerum;
Scire licet, quam ſint nullo velata colore.

Sed ne forte putes ſolo ſpoliata colore
Corpora prima manere; etiam ſecreta teporis,
Sunt, ac frigoris omnino, &c. LUCRETIUS, l. ii.

and

and misery, had no real or permanent cause, but depended, like every thing else, on relation or comparison. Upon this principle, "that all was relative[90]," Pyrrho established topics for enabling his sect readily to dispute the truth of all positions whatever; which topics he reduced to ten[91], probably in opposition to the ten categories of the dogmatists. The great patron of Pyrrhonism boasts, that while other philosophers wandered in pursuit of a false and artificial happiness, Pyrrho alone had discovered the true and natural one, and that, by an accident similar to the painter's[92], who having finished the picture of a dog all to the foam of his mouth, could not, after repeated trials, satisfy himself in painting this last circumstance. Enraged by disappointment, he at length dashed against the canvas the sponge with which he wiped his pencils. Accident produced the effect which he had vainly sought from art; and the foam was represented so naturally, that the picture, though admirable in other respects, was chiefly admired on this account. Fatigued by many painful researches into the nature of truth and virtue, Pyrrho, in the same manner, had discovered that truth and virtue were nowhere to be found; a discovery which produced that moderation and *indisturbance*[93], that happy indifference, or rather per-

CHAP. XI.

[90] Παντα προς τι. Sextus Empiric.

[91] Sextus Empiric. Hypothet. Pyrrhon. l. i. c. xiv. & Diogen. Laert. in Pyrrhon.

[92] Sextus Empiric. l. i. c. xii. Sextus calls the painter Apelles. Pliny, l. xxxv. c. xx. ascribes this accident to Protogenes, and a similar one to Nealces, in painting a horse.

[93] Ατραξια. Sextus Empiric.

CHAP. XL.

Conclusion.

fect inſenſibility, which is as naturally attended by happineſs, as a body is followed by its ſhadow [94].

In concluding this work with the ſcepticiſm of Pyrrho, it is proper to obſerve, for the honour of Greece, that though the doctrines which that philoſopher inculcated can have no other tendency than to unhinge the moral principles, to darken and perplex the mind; yet thoſe ſyſtems of his contemporaries, or predeceſſors, which have been more particularly explained in the preſent hiſtory, amidſt all their apparent contradictions, uniformly afford ſuch views of nature and of man, as awaken or heighten our love for both. Eſtabliſhed on firm grounds of reaſon, they evince the indiſſoluble union of intereſt with duty, diſplay the beauty of virtue in its brighteſt charms, and unmaſk the hideous ſpectres of fancy and ſuperſtition.

[94] Sextus Empiric, ubi ſupra, & paſſim.

INDEX.

N. B. The Roman Numerals refer to the Volume, and the Figures to the Page.

A

ABDELERMINUS, from a gardener, raiſed to the throne of Sidon, reaſons for rejecting his ſtory, iv 292. *Note.*

Abé, a city famed for its temple of Apollo, and oracle, deſtroyed by the Perſians, i. 462.

Abſtraction, the faculty of, not unknown in the philoſophy of the ancients, iii. 513.

Accent in language, its uſe, and varieties, i 243.

Achaia, conquered by the followers of Tiſamenus king of Lacedæmon, i. 98. Brief political hiſtory of, 211.

The proſperity of, referred to the wiſdom of their laws, ii. 14. Their proſperity extended to their colonies in Magna Græcia, 15. Revolutions in that country, iii. 430.

Achilles, opinions of critics concerning his ſhield, as deſcribed by Homer, i. 85. *Note.*

Acuphis, ambaſſador from Nyſa to Alexander the Great, his ſucceſsful negociation, iv 345.

Ada, the government of Caria committed to her by Alexander the Great, iv. 268.

Adimanthus, joint commander with Conon over the Athenian fleet, his character, iii. 79. Is taken priſoner by Lyſander, 86. Is ſpared by him. 87.

Adimantus, commander of the Corinthian ſhips, his violent oppoſition to Themiſtocles in a council of war on board the Grecian fleet, i 470.

Adonis, celebration of the annual feſtival of, at Athens, deſcribed, ii. 350.

Adraſtus, a fugitive Phrygian prince, his hiſtory, i. 308.

Adverſity, calls forth the latent reſources of popular governments, iii. 7. But increaſes political factions, 90.

Adultery, how puniſhed during the heroic ages of Greece, i. 73.

Ægina, the iſland deſcribed, i. 412. The fleet of, deſtroyed by Themiſtocles, 413.

Ægos-Potamus, naval engagement there, between Lyſander and the Athenians, iii. 84.

Æneas, probably contemporary with Dido, ii. 2. *Note.*

Æſchines, the philoſopher, the argument maintained in his dialogues, iii. 148.

———, the orator, his embaſſy to Peloponneſus, to unite the Grecian ſtates againſt Philip of Macedon, iv. 98. 105. Quarrel between him and Demoſthenes, 110. His ſpeech to Philip of Macedon, 113. Is corrupted by Philip's ambaſſadors, 120. His ſpeech to Philip on another embaſſy, 123. Gives an account of his embaſſy to the Athenians, 130. Aſſumes the merit of ſoſtening Philip towards the Phocians, 141. Is proſecuted at the perſuaſion of Demoſthenes, 160. Is ſent as deputy to the Amphictyonic council, 203. Inveighs againſt the Locrians for cultivating the Cirrhean plain, 206 Accuſes Cteſiphon for his decree in honour of Demoſthenes. 334. His baniſhment, 335.

Æſchylus the tragedian diſtinguiſhes himſelf at the battle of Marathon, i. 403. Was the father of the Greek tragedy, ii. 145.

Æſop, his fables, the firſt Grecian attempt toward moral philoſophy, ii 128.

Ætolians engage as auxiliaries to the Heraclidæ, i 96. Eſtabliſh themſelves in Peloponneſus, 97. Are ravaged by the Athenians, ii. 270. Singular mode of fighting the invaders, 271.

Agamemnon commands the Grecian armament collected againſt Troy, i. 43. Takes and deſtroys that city, 46 How he obtained pre-eminence over the other Grecian princes, 68. His death, 91.

Ageſilaus, his character, and pretenſions to the crown of Sparta, iii. 249. Is declared king, 250 Takes the command of the Grecian forces in Aſia, 254. His ill treatment of Lyſander, 256. His addreſs in counteracting the treachery of Tiſſaphernes, 258. His expedition to Phrygia, 259. His military preparations, and martial exerciſes, 260. Defeats the Perſians on the banks of the Pactolus, 261. Negociation between him and Tithrauſtes for the indemnity of Lydia, 263 Is intruſted with the command of the Grecian fleet, 264. His victories inſpire him with the hopes of conquering the Perſian empire, 265. Is recalled, 275. He defeats the Theſſalians on his return, 278. Defeats the confederate army at Coronæa, 286 His Aſiatic victories prejudicial to Sparta, 310. Allows his colleague Cleombrotus to conduct the war in Bœotia, 344. Is ſuppoſed to have been privy to the attempt of Sphodrias on the Piræus of Athens, 347. His invaſions of Bœotia, *ib.* Acts as the Spartan deputy in the Grecian congreſs at that city, 355. Debates between him and Epaminondas, 356. Evades the law of Lycurgus with reſpect to the troops vanquiſhed at Leuctra, 374. His ineffectual attempts to reſtore the Spartan authority in Arcadia, 392. His vigilant exertions on the invaſion of Laconia by the Thebans, 395 Negociates a defenſive treaty with Athens, 397, His death and character, 464.

Ageſipolis,

Ageſipolis, King of Sparta, beſieges and takes the city of Mantinæa, iii. 317. Takes Torona, 327. Dies, 328.

Agis, King of Sparta, commands the Spartan forces at the renewal of the Peloponnneſian war, ii. 318. Concludes a truce with the Argives, 319. Battle of Mantinæa, 323. His expedition into Attica, 383. His ſpouſe Timea ſeduced by Alcibiades, iii 13. Invades the Elians, 160. His death, 249

Agoracritus, his celebrated ſtatue of Venus, iii 150.

Agriculture taught in Attica by Cecrops, i. 12. How practiſed in Greece during the heroic ages, 67. 83.

Agrigentum, by whom founded, ii. 11.

Its magnificence, and proſperity of its inhabitants, iii. 166. Siege of, by the Carthaginians, 169. Miſerable fate of the Agrigentines, *ibid.*

Ajax, the ſon of Telamon, his preſumption, and how puniſhed, i. 56. *Note.*

Alcæus, the ancient Greek poet, his character, i. 270.

Alexander, from a perſecutor, becomes a ſupporter of the inſtitutions of Lycurgus, i 129 *Note.*

Alcibiades, his birth and education, ii. 309. Attachment between him and Socrates, 311 His character, 313. His antipathy to Sparta, 314. His deceitful conduct toward the Spartan ambaſſadors, 316. Perſuades the Athenians to enter into the Argive alliance, 317. Perſuades the Argives to break their truce, 321. His ambitious views, 340. His debate with Nicias, reſpecting the expedition to Sicily, 343. His armament ſails, 350. He takes Catana, 355. His operations ſtopped by his recal to Athens, 356. He is accuſed of impiety by Theſſalus, 358. He flies to Sparta, 361. 382.

Surpriſes the Athenian partiſans in Chios, iii. 11. Seduces the ſpouſe of King Agis, 13. Takes refuge with the Perſian general Tiſſaphernes, 15. Alienates that general from the Spartan intereſts, 16 Conſpires againſt the democracy in Athens, 17. Fruſtrates the negociation between the Athenian ambaſſadors and Tiſſaphernes, 23. Is invited by Thraſybulus to the camp at Samos, 28. His addreſs to his countrymen, 29. His meſſage to the tyrants, 37. Is recalled to Athens, 34. Captures the whole Peloponnneſian fleet, 37. Takes Byzantium, 42. His triumphant return to Athens, 43. Conducts the Eleuſinian feſtival, 48. His arrival on the anniverſary of the Plynteria deemed inauſpicious, 50. His fleet defeated during his abſence, by Lyſander, 59. He is impeached by Thraſybulus, and diſgraced, 60. His advice for the ſecurity of the Athenian fleet rejected, 83. Retires to Phrygia, 112. Manner of his death, *ibid.*

Alcidas, the Spartan naval commander, ſent to the relief of Mitylene, his imprudent conduct, ii. 241. 251. His engagement with Nicoſtratus at Corcyra, 259.

Alexander, King of Macedon, his character, i. 487. Is employed by Mardonius to treat with the Athenians, *ibid.*

Alexander the Great, his birth, iv. 37. His behaviour to the Perſian ambaſſadors at his father's court, 149 Saves the life of his father Philip, 197 Routs the Thebans at the battle of Charonæa, 219. Quarrels with his father, and takes refuge among the rebellious Illyrians, 235. Is reconciled, 236. Difficulties attending his ſucceſſion to his father's crown, 238. He is acknowledged general of the Greeks, 240 His interview with Diogenes the cynic, *ibid.* Defeats the Thracians, 241. Paſſes the Danube, 243 Is aſſiſted by Langarus the Agrian, 245. Defeats Glaucias, King of the Taulantii, 246. Revolt and deſtruction of Thebes, 248. His acts of forbearance there, 250. Receives congratulatory embaſſies from the Grecian ſtates, 251 Prepares for his eaſtern expedition, 252. Prepares to paſs the Granicus, 257. Battle there, 258. His perſonal gallantry, 260. His prudent humanity after the engagement, 263. Immediate fruits of this victory, 264. Beſieges Halicarnaſſus, 265 The town taken and demoliſhed, 267. His judicious plan of warfare, 269. The arts by which he ſecured his conqueſts, 270 Favourable circumſtances attending his march from Phaſelis to Perga, 271. He chaſtiſes the duplicity of the citizens of Aſpendus, 273. Enters Phrygia, *ibid* Fulfils the oracle relating to the Gordian knot, 275. Paſſes the northern gate of Cilicia, 278 His ſickneſs at Tarſus, 279. Diſpoſition of his army previous to the battle of Iſſus, 284. Defeats Darius, 285. His generous treatment of Darius's captive family, 288. His moderation increaſes with his good fortune, 289. Receives an amicable embaſſy from Tyre, 291. Beſieges Tyre, 294. Takes the city, 301. Is wounded at the ſiege of Gaza, 303. His eaſy conqueſt of Egypt, 304. Founds the city of Alexandria, 305. Viſits the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, 306. Foundation of his claim to being the ſon of Jupiter, 308. *Note.* He marches into Aſſyria, 309. Battle of Arbela, 311 His acquiſitions by the defeat of Darius, 318. Purſues Darius, 321. Purſues the Murderers of Darius, 323. Beſieges the Sogdian fortreſs, 327. Reduces it, and marries Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes, 330. Surrender of the fortreſs of Chorienes, *ibid* His prudent regulation of his conqueſts, 332. Undertakes his Indian expedition, 339. His difficult paſſage over the Paropamiſus, 340. Reduces mount Aornos, 342. Receives the ſubmiſſion of Nyſa, 343. Paſſes the Indus, 346 His paſſage over the Hydaſpes diſputed by Porus, 347. The paſſage effected, 350. Defeats Porus, and treats him generouſly, 354. Founds Nicæa and Bucephalia, 356 Paſſes the Aceſines and Hydraotes, 357. Beſieges and takes Sangala, 358. The eaſtern bounds of his conqueſts, 359 His life endangered by his raſhneſs at the ſiege of the Mallian fortreſs, 363. Marches through the

the Gedrosian desert, 365. Punishes the licentious cruelty of Cleander and Sitalus, 367. Romantic account of his march through Carmania, *ibid.* Punishes the revolt of his governors of Babylon, Persepolis, and Susa, 368. Improves the internal state of his conquests, 370. Sends vessels to explore the Persian and Arabian gulphs, 371. Founds a city of retreat for his superannuated soldiers, 372. Discharges the debts of his army, 374. Promotes intermarriages with the Asiatics, 375. His immoderate grief for the death of Hephæstion, 376. Reduces the Cossæans, 378. Arts practised to prevent his return to Babylon, 380. His death, 383. His character, 384. His faults, rather resulting from his situation than his personal character, 387. His murder of Clitus, 390. His magnanimity, 392. His account of his father and himself, 393. The division of his conquests, 397.

Alexander, King of Thessaly, his character, iii. 415. His treacherous seizure of Pelopidas, 418. Anecdotes of Pelopidas during his confinement with him, 420. Battle of Cynoscephalæ, 442. Is again defeated by the Thebans, 444.

————, the son of Æropus, his treachery to Alexander King of Macedon, detected by Parmenio, iv. 276.

Alexandria, the city of, founded by Alexander the Great, iv. 305.

Alyattes, king of Lydia, his systematic depredations on the Milesians, i. 297. How induced to conclude a peace with them, 298. His long and happy reign, 300.

Alphabet, Phœnician, introduced into Greece, i. 10.

Amasis, how he mounted the throne of Egypt, and his character, i. 345.

Amazons, the existence of such a nation, why not to be doubted, i. 19. *Note.*

Amphcia, a Messenian city, treacherously seized by the Spartans, i. 162.

Amphion the Grecian bard, who, i. 251.

Amphictyonic council, the origin of, i. 19. Its authority extended, 107. Conduct of, on the temple of Delphi being plundered by the Crisseans, 217.

Summary history of, iii. 466.

An angry decree issued against the Phocians, iv. 42. And against Sparta, 43. Cruel decree of, against the Phocians, 136. Macedon declared a member of the Hellenic body, 143. Philip invited to check the insolence of Sparta, 152. He is declared general of the Amphictyons, 197. The Amphictyons destroy the Amphissean plantations on the Cirrhean plain, 208.

Amphipolis, description of that city, and its revolt from the Athenians. ii. 298. Defeat and death of Cleon in an attack of the city, 303. Honours conferred there on Brasidas, *ibid.*

This city joins the Olynthian confederacy, iv. 27. Is besieged by Philip of Macedon, 30. Is taken and annexed to Macedon, 31.

Amphiſſeans accuſed by Æſchines to the Amphictyonic council, for cultivating the Cirrhean plain, iv. 206. They attack the Amphictyons, for deſtroying their plantations, 208. Amphiſſa taken by Philip of Macedon, 210.

Amuſements of the Greeks during the heroic ages, i. 87.

Amyntas II. king of Macedonia, dethroned by Bardyllis, and reſtored by the Spartans, iv. 7.

Amyntas, the ſon of Philip, his pretenſions to the throne of Macedonia, iv. 239.

Anacreon, the ancient Greek poet, his character, i. 271.

Anaxagoras, was the firſt Grecian philoſopher who promulgated rational ideas of the Deity, ii. 21. *Note.* 131. His doctrines counteracted by the refinements of the Sophiſta, *ibid.* His accuſation and baniſhment, 209.

Anaxander, the Spartan general, is defeated by Ariſtomenes the Meſſenian, i. 186.

Anderica, ſettled by the Eretrian priſoners after the battle of Marathon, i. 400.

Anchocles, the joint king of Meſſenia, his unſucceſsful conteſt with his aſſociate Antiochus, i. 161. Obtains the province of Hyamia from the Spartan conquerors, 177.

Anompharetus, the Spartan commander under Pauſanias, his refractory conduct, i. 503.

Antalcidas, one of the Spartan negociators at the Perſian court, his character, iii. 296. His ſucceſsful negociations, 298. Rouſes the jealouſy of Artaxerxes againſt the Athenians, 303. Reduces the Grecian ſtates to accept the terms of peace dictated by Artaxerxes, 306. Aſſiſts at a congreſs of the Grecian ſtates at the court of Artaxerxes, 423.

Antiochus, commander of the Athenian fleet in the abſence of Alcibiades, imprudently expoſes himſelf to a defeat by Lyſander, iii. 59.

——, the Arcadian deputy at the Perſian court, his character of the Perſians to his countrymen, iii. 426.

Antipater, is entruſted by Alexander with the care of Macedon and Greece, during his eaſtern expedition, iv. 253. Checks the commotions in Greece, during the abſence of Alexander, 333. Is ordered to join his maſter with new levies, 374.

Antiphon, the orator, his character, iii. 18. Put to death by the Thirty Tyrants, iii. 100.

Antiphon, an Athenian incendiary, is employed by Philip of Macedon to burn the Athenian docks, iv. 200. Is detected by Demoſthenes, and puniſhed, 201.

Antiſthenes, of Athens, the great leſſons of his philoſophy, iii. 149.

Aornos, mount, reduced by Alexander the Great, iv. 342.

Apelles, his eminence as a painter, his works, iv. 407.

Apollo, cauſes that gave his oracle at Delphi a ſuperior credit over other oracles, i. 12.

Apollo, the Amyclean, account of the throne of, made by Bathycles the Magnefian, ii. 163. Belvidere deſcribed, 176.

The Abæan temple of, burnt, with a number of Phocian refugees in it, iv. 126

Apollodorus, the Athenian painter, the firſt who knew the force of light and ſhade, iii. 491.

———, governor of Babylon, his arts to prevent Alexander the Great from returning to that city, iv. 380

Apollonides, the Olynthian, baniſhed by the intrigues of Philip of Macedon, iv. 99.

Aracus is appointed to command the Spartan fleet, to cover the truſt of the fleet to Lyſander, who goes ſecond in command, iii. 82.

Arbela, battle of, between Alexander the Great and Darius king of Perſia, iv. 311.

Arcadia, ſituation of that country, and character of its inhabitants, i. 207.

State of, at the æra of the peace of Antalcidas, iii. 314. Fate of Mantinæa, 318. National character of the Arcadians, 409. Are defeated by Archidamus, 413. Arcadia ravaged by the Spartans on one ſide, and by the Achæans on the other, 431 A peace concluded with Athens, 434. The Arcadians ſeize Olympia, and celebrate the games, 445 They plunder the Olympic treaſure, 447. Scheme of thoſe who partook of this treaſure, to prevent inquiries, 449.

Archelaus I king of Macedon, his hiſtory and character, iv 5

Archidamus, king of Sparta, his pacific advice, when the Peloponneſians endeavoured to draw the Spartans into their confederacy againſt Athens, ii 204 Is appointed to conduct the war, 218. Leads his army into Attica, 219.

———, ſon of Ageſilaus, ſolicits the pardon of Sphodrias, out of friendſhip to his ſon Cleonymus, iii 346 Commands the Spartan forces ſent againſt the Arcadians, 411. Defeats them at Midea without the loſs of a man, 413. His ſpeech on the requeſt of the Spartan allies, for leave to negociate a ſeparate peace with Thebes, 437 Defeats the attempt of Epaminondas to ſurpriſe the city of Sparta, 455.

Endeavours to revive the Spartan power in the Peloponneſus, iv. 49. Aims at procuring the cuſtody of the temple at Delphi, 126. Raiſes an army for that purpoſe, 130

Archilochus, the ancient Grecian poet, memoirs of, i. 259. His bitter revenge againſt Neobulé and her father, 262. Character of his poetry, 263. Is baniſhed Paros, 265. Recovers credit at the Olympic games, 266. Honours paid to him on his return to Paros, 268.

Architecture, rude ſtate of, in the heroic ages of Greece, i. 84.

The Doric and Ionic orders of, where invented, ii. 162.

Archons, commencement of the magiſtracy of, at Athens; in the ſtead of the kings, i. 101. Their number, office, and rank, ii. 112

Areopagus, the court of, at Athens, deſcribed, i 361. ii. 113.

Arginuſſæ, battle of, between Callicratidas and the Athenians, iii. 70.

Argonautic expedition undertaken, i. 20. The object of this adventure, 22.

Argos, firſt ſettled by Danaus, i. 8. Conteſts between the citizens of, and thoſe of the dependent towns, i. 210. War with Sparta, 322.

Inteſtine commotions in the republic of, ii. 89. The town of Mycenæ deſtroyed, 90. Conduct of the Argives during the Peloponneſian war, 308. The Argive alliance, *ibid.* The Argives take arms on the renewal of the Peloponneſian war, 319. Conclude a truce, *ibid.* The truce broken at the inſtigation of Alcibiades, 321. Battle of Mantinæa, 322. Tumult at Argos, in which the league with Athens is abjured, and a confederacy entered into with Sparta, 325.

Ariæus, ſucceeds to the command of Cyrus's vanquiſhed army after the battle of Cunaxa, iii. 199. Concludes a truce with Artaxerxes, 202. Is detached from the Grecian allies by the contrivance of Tiſſaphernes, 203.

Ariſtæus, commands the Corinthian auxiliaries ſent to aſſiſt in the defence of Potidæa, ii. 199. Is taken by the Athenians, and put to death, 233.

Ariſtagoras, of Miletus, inſtigates the Ionians to revolt againſt the Perſian government, i. 356. His negociations at Sparta, 358. Applies to the Athenians for aſſiſtance, 361. 369. The remainder of his hiſtory, and death, 373.

Ariſtides, his generous deference to Miltiades, his aſſociate in the command of the Athenian forces, i. 397. Compariſon between him and Themiſtocles, 407. Their rivalſhip, 409. He is baniſhed, 410. Returns to the Grecian fleet juſt before the battle off Salamis, 474. His ſpeech to Mardonius on the part of the Athenians, 489.

Is entruſted with the charge of the finances of the confederated Greek forces, on the recal of Pauſanias, ii. 62. His death and character, 67.

———, a Theban painter, his great power of expreſſion, iii. 494.

Ariſtocrates, King of Arcadia, profeſſes to aſſiſt the Meſſenians againſt the Spartans, i. 189. Deſerts them at the battle of the Trenches, 190. His ſecond treachery, and puniſhment, 201.

Æpytus, the Meſſenian, devotes his daughter to death, in obedience to oracular demand, i. 172. Kills her brutally himſelf, 173. Becomes king, and wages ſucceſsful war againſt the Spartans, 174. Kills himſelf, 176.

Ariſtodemus, an Athenian player, employed by Philip of Macedon to cultivate his intereſt at Athens, iv. 104. His embaſſy to Philip, 108. Is ſent again, 110.

Ariſtomenes, is ſaluted king of Meſſenia by the army on the plains of Deræ, i. 181. His gallant expedition to the city of Sparta, 183. His repeated ſucceſſes againſt the Spartans, 185. Is defeated at the Trenches, 190. Defends the fortreſs of Eira, 192. Is taken priſoner, 193. His extraordinary eſcape, 194. Is ſurpriſed by the Spartans, 197. Abandons Eira, 199. Is kindly received by the Arcadians, 201. His travels, death, and character, 206.

Ariſtophanes, a declared enemy to Socrates, ii. 144. Nature of his comedies deſcribed, 149. Ridicules Cleon, 287.

His comedy of the Clouds, the remote cauſe of the proſecution of Socrates, iii. 128.

Ariſtotle, his diſtinctions of ſtyle in writing, iii. 154. Inquiry into Plato's doctrine of ideas, 514. *Note.*

Scientifical preſents made to him by Alexander the Great, iv. 410. His moral and political works ſuperior to the writings of all his predeceſſors, 411. His philoſophy, 412. His logic, 413. His great opportunities of improvement, 415. His death, 416. Tenets of the Peripatetic ſchool, 419. Eſtimate and fate of his philoſophy, 430.

Armenia, paſſage of the Greeks through that country, under the conduct of Xenophon and Cheiroſophus, iii. 217.

Arrian, remarks on his account of Alexander's paſſage from Phaſelis to Perga, iv. 272.

Artabanus, his moral reflections to Xerxes, on the review of his immenſe army, i. 424. His cautions for the ſafety of the Perſian fleet, 431.

Artabazus, ſatrap of Ionia, revolts from Artaxerxes Ochus, king of Perſia, and ſupports himſelf by the aſſiſtance of Chares of Athens, iii. 485.

Artaphernes, the Perſian governor of Sardis, commands the Athenians to reinſtate Hippias, whom they had expelled, i. 368.

Artaxerxes Longimanus, king of Perſia, affords protection to Themiſtocles on his baniſhment, ii. 66. His meaſures of defence againſt the Grecian invaſion, 71. Cimon's victories over his fleet and army, 72. Revolt of Egypt, 76. Solicits a peace with the Athenians, 80.

(Memnon), is appointed ſucceſſor to the throne of Perſia, by his father Darius Nothus, iii. 177. His brother Cyrus diſputes the crown with him, 180. Leads his army againſt him, 194. Battle of Cunaxa, 195. Concludes a truce with the Grecian army, 202. Makes war againſt the Spartans, 241. Orders the death of Tiſſaphernes, and commits the care of the war to Tithrauſtes, 262. His interview with Conon, 283. Is perſuaded by Conon to rebuild the walls of Athens, 294. He dictates the

terms

terms of a general peace, 304 His motive for promoting the tranquillity of Greece, 350. Procures a congress to be held at Sparta, 352. Concludes a treaty with the Spartans, 407. A congress of the Grecian states at his court, 422

Artemisia, of Halicarnassus, her advice to Xerxes, i. 468. Her artifice to save herself at the battle of Salamis, 477.

Artemisium, the first sea engagement there between the Grecian and Persian fleets, i. 455. The second, 457

Aspasia, the Athenian courtesan, her character, ii. 156 208

Aspendus, the treacherous behaviour of the inhabitants of, chastised by Alexander the Great, iv. 273

Asia Minor, is colonized by Greeks, i. 101. Distinction of dialects in the new settlements, 103. Peculiar advantages of the Ionian colonies, 104.

Assyria, the downfal of the monarchy of, described, i 309. 342.

Astronomy, favoured by Alexander's conquest of Babylon, iv 400

Ateas, king of Scythia, invites Philip of Macedon, to assist him against the Istrians, iv. 191. His perfidy, 192. Is chastised by Philip, 194.

Athenagoras, of Syracuse, inspires his countrymen with contempt for the Athenian armament sent against that city, ii 364.

Athens, first settled by Cecrops, i. 8. Agriculture taught there by Cecrops, 12 History of Theseus, 30. The Cretan institutions introduced by him, 32. The exiled descendants of Hercules received into Attica, 95. Royalty abolished on the death of Codrus, and the magistracy of Archons substituted in its room, 101. The Dorians expelled by the Athenians, 103 Political revolutions at Athens, 212. Constitution of that republic, as regulated by Solon, 361. The usurpation of Pisistratus, 362. Rapid successes of the Athenians after establishing a democracy, 364. They assist the Ionian revolters against the Persian government, 369. But afterwards receive disgust, and leave them, 372. Attica invaded by the Persians, 390 Measures taken for defence, 391. Battle of Marathon, 397. Conduct of the Athenians after this victory, 401. Honours conferred on Miltiades, 402. Who is afterward persecuted to death, 405. And his memory revered, 406. Banishment of Aristides, 410. Naval successes of Themistocles over Ægina and Corcyra, 413 Strength and spirit of the republic, 414. The advice of the oracle on the approach of Xerxes, expounded by Themistocles, 430. Memorable battle of Thermopylæ, 447. Xerxes enters Attica, and the Athenians abandon their country, 465. Mardonius remains in Attica after the flight of Xerxes, 480. 483. The Spartans desert the Athenian cause, 491. Contest between the Athenians and Tegeans in the confederate army under Pausanias, 500. They distinguish themselves at the battle of Platæa, 507 And at that of Mycalé, 513.

Their prosperity after these victories, ii. 43 Their attainments in the arts of peace, 45. Celebrate their victory over the Persians

ſians at Salamis, 48. The city of Athens rebuilt and fortified, 49. The artful embaſſy of Themiſtocles to Sparta, 50. The Piræus built, 53. Baniſhment and death of Themiſtocles, 65. Death and character of Ariſtides, 67. Rapid ſucceſſes of Cimon, 69. Influence of Pericles in the policy of the Athenian ſtate, 74. The Athenians aſſiſt the revolt of Egypt from Artaxerxes, 77. Unfortunate event of this meaſure, 78. Peace concluded with Artaxerxes, 80. The power of Athens viewed with diſcontent by the other Grecian ſtates, 83. Protection afforded to the Spartan Helots and Meſſenians, 85. Aſſiſtance given to the Bœotians, to ſupport their independence againſt Thebes, 92 The famous truce of thirty years, 94. How they ſubdued their neighbouring ſtates, 98 Spirit of the Athenian government, 99 Panegyric on the Athenian laws, 103. Character of Draco, and his ſyſtem of legiſlation, 105. State of Athens at the time of Solon, 106. Review of Solon's inſtitutions, 107. Uſurpation of Piſiſtratus, 116. Character of Hipparchus, 117. Alterations in government introduced by Cliſthenes, 118. The democratic form of government completed by Pericles, 119. Progreſs of luxury in the republic, 123. The virtues and vices of this period compared, 126 Hiſtory of philoſophy, 127. The Sophiſts, 133 Socrates, 135 Tragedy, 139. Comedy, 144. Minerva honoured as the tutelary deity of Athens, 150. Mode of celebrating the feſtivals, 151. Domeſtic manners of the Athenians, 152 Women, *ibid.* Courteſans, 155. Character of Aſpaſia, 156. The fine arts patronized by Pericles, 167. Great improvements made by Athenian ſculptors and painters, 168. The moſt diſtinguiſhed works of Phidias, 170 Origin of the Peloponneſian war, 181. The Corinthians and Corcyreans appeal to Athens, and ſolicit the eſpouſal of their reſpective cauſes, 189 A treaty of mutual defence concluded with Corcyra, 192 A reinforcement ſent to the Corcyrean fleet, 194. Reply to the remonſtrance of the Corinthians, 195 Revolt of Macedonia, 196. Siege of Potidæa, 194 Account of the ſtates confederated againſt Athens, 205. A menacing embaſſy received from the confederates, 207 Accuſation and defence of Pericles, 210. Preparations for war, 217. Invaſion of Attica by Archidamus, king of Sparta, 219. The invaſion retaliated on the confederates by ſea, 220. Attica evacuated, 221. Megara invaded, 222. Athens viſited by the plague, 223. Devaſtation of Attica by the enemy, 225. Ill ſucceſs of the war, 227. Death and character of Pericles, 230. Revolt of Leſbos, 227. Siege of Mytilené, 239. Character of Cleon, 244. His cruel propoſal of putting the inhabitants of Mytilené to death, reverſed by the perſuaſion of Diodatus, 246. The Athenian troops weakened by the plague, 268. Expedition to Ætolia, 269. Reject the Spartan overtures for peace, and detain their pledged ſhips, 280. Battle of Delium, 291. Revolt of Amphipolis, 298. Clamours on the ſucceſſes of Braſidas, 300. Truce concluded with Sparta, *ibid* Peace made with Sparta,

Sparta, 304. Acceſſion of Athens to the Argive alliance, 309. Mutual diſcontents generated between Athens and Sparta, 314. Renewal of the war, 318. Expedition againſt Melos, 327. Conference betweeen the commiſſioners of Athens and thoſe of Melos, 328 Reduction of Melos, and cruel treatment of the inhabitants, 332. Send a fleet to Sicily, 338. Another expediton to Sicily, debated, 343. Preparations for this undertaking, 348. Departure of the armament from Athens, 350. Cauſes of recalling Alcibiades, 357. Attica invaded by Agis, who fortifies Decelia, 383. Vigorous exertions of the Athenians, 384 Are finally defeated at ſea before Syracuſe, 397. Their miſerable and diſaſtrous retreat from that city, 401.

General conſternation at the news of the ſad event of the Sicilian expedition, iii. 2. Combination of the Grecian ſtates againſt Athens, 3. Their preparations to aſſiſt the revolt of the Aſiatic dependencies of the Athenians, 8. The Athenians diſcover and defeat the meaſures of the Corinthians and Chians, 10. Battle of Miletus, 11. Intrigues of Alcibiades againſt the democracy, 17. Piſander co-operates in the ſame deſign, 21. Negociation with Tiſſaphernes, 22. The democracy overturned, 74. The government of the Four Hundred formed, 25. Their tyranny, 27. Tumults at Athens, occaſioned by the revolt of the troops in Samos, 31. The democracy reſtored, and Alcibiades recalled, 34. The Athenians become again victorious at ſea, 35. Triumphant return of Alcibiades, 44. Celebration of the Eleuſinian rites, 46. Celebration of the Plynteria, 50. Alcibiades accuſed and diſgraced, 60. Callicratidas defeated by the Athenians, and killed, 70. Wiſdom and equity obſerved in the trial of offenders, 75. Trial of the admirals for their conduct at the battle of Arginuſſæ, 76. Dying ſpeech of Diomedon, 78. Defeat and loſs of his fleet, 85. Athens beſieged by Lyſander, 90. Embaſſy of Theramenes to Sparta, 91. Athens ſurrenders to Lyſander, and is diſmantled, 94. Cruel treatment of the Athenians by the thirty tyrants, 100. The perſecution of Lyſias and his family, 101. Accuſation and death of Theramenes, 106. Death of Alcibiades, 112. Thraſybulus oppoſes the tyrants, 114. He ſeizes the Piræus, 116. The tyrants depoſed, and decemvirs elected, 119. The internal peace of Athens effected by the mediation of Pauſanias, 120. A general amneſty, 124. Proſecution and death of Socrates, 129. Review of his followers, and their principal tenets, 147. State of the fine arts at this time, 149. The Athenians aſſiſt the Thebans againſt the Spartans, 271. Battle of Coronæa, 285. Conon prevails on Artaxerxes to rebuild the walls of Athens, 294. The Athenians contribute to the revolt of Cyprus, 304. Are obliged to accept terms of peace from Artaxerxes, 306. A conſpiracy formed there by Pelopidas, to reſtore the democracy at Thebes, 333. Aſſiſtance ſent to Thebes, to recover the citadel

tadel from the Spartans, 341. The alliance with Sparta renewed, 344. The Athenians irritated at the attempt of Sphodrias on the Piræus, 347. Naval ſucceſſes againſt the Spartans, 350. The exiled inhabitants of Platæa received into the republic, 351. Deputies ſent to the Grecian congreſs at Sparta, 355. Conduct of the Athenians after the battle of Leuctra, 375. They reſolve to hold the balance of power, 376. A defenſive alliance with Sparta debated, 397. Aſſiſtance ſent to the Spartans againſt the Theban invaſion, 401. The alliance with Sparta extended and confirmed, 406. Peace concluded with the Arcadians, 434. The Athenians recover many of their maritime poſſeſſions after the battle of Mantinæa, 467. The ſuppoſed degeneracy of the Athenians ſhewn to reſult from the nature of their government, 468. Their extreme profligacy, 475. Character of Chares, 479. The ſocial war, 480. State of philoſophy at this time, 486. Statuary, 487. Painting, 489. Literature, 497. Xenophon, *ibid.* Plato, 502.

The Athenians deluded by a treaty with Philip of Macedon, iv. 18. They counteract his views upon Olynthus, 58. They defend the ſtraits of Thermopylæ againſt Philip, 60. Are deluded into negligence by the policy of Philip, 74. Intrigues of Philip in Eubœa, 75. State of parties in Athens, 80. Chares ſent to Olynthus, 87. Charidemus ſent to Olynthus, 94. Attica inſulted by Macedonian fleets, 103. Philip's deceitful embaſſy to Athens, 104. Ambaſſadors ſent to negociate with Philip, 110. Their report, 117. Arrival of ambaſſadors from Philip, 119. A third embaſſy to Philip, 121. A treaty concluded with Philip, 129. General conſternation at the fate of the Phocians, 139. Paſs a decree for receiving the Phocian fugitives, 140. Reſolve to preſerve their engagements with Philip, 144. The Athenians courted both by the Spartans and the Peloponneſians, 153. Artful repreſentations of the partiſans of Macedon, 154. The Athenians endeavour to rouſe the Grecian ſtates againſt Philip, 166. Diopethes ſent to oppoſe Philip in Thrace, 167. His conduct defended by Demoſthenes, 169. Spirited exertions againſt Philip, both by ſea and land, 175. Eubœa recovered, 177. Decree of the Byzantines and Perinthians, in acknowledgment of their relief by Phocion, 188. Offend the Thebans by their preſent to the temple at Delphi, 204. The Athenians raiſe a confederacy againſt Philip, 211. General conſternation on Philip's ſeizing Elatæa, 214. Decree paſſed for an aſſociation with Thebes, and other cities, againſt Philip, 215. Battle of Cheronæa, 219. Moderation of Philip towards Athens, 225. Decrees in conſequence of this defeat, 225. The peace with Philip ratified, 228. Decree the trial and puniſhment of the orators accuſed by Alexander the Great, 252. Military preſents from Alexander to the temple of Minerva, after the battle of the Granicus, 264. Baniſhments of Æſchines and Demoſthenes, 336.

State of, during the latter years of Alexander, 337. Philoſophical ſects eſtabliſhed there, 417.

Atys, ſon of Croeſus king of Lydia, his death, and the conſequences of it, i. 307.

B

Babylon, the capital of Aſſyria, beſieged by Cyrus, i. 342. The city, and its reſources, deſcribed, 343. Is taken by ſtratagem, 344.

Flagitious conduct of Harpalus, Alexander's governor there, ii. 368. Improvements made there by Alexander, 370. Scheme of Apollodorus to prevent Alexander's return thither, 380. 383.

Bacchus, his expedition to India inquired into, iv. 344. *Note.*

Bacon, lord, his character of Ariſtotle, iv. 411.

Bards, Grecian, their character during the heroic ages, i. 251. Their high authority and influence on ſociety, 253. The reſpect attached to their character, 254. Peculiar advantages of the ages in which they lived, 255. The perfection and authority of their compoſitions, 256. Memoirs of Archilochus, 259 Tepander 268. Alcæus and Sappho, 270. Anacreon, 271. Steſichorus, 272. Pindar, *ibid.*

Bardyllis, an Illyrian chief, effects a revolution in Macedonia, and renders that government tributary to him, iv 7. Defeats Perdiccas, 10. Is defeated and killed by Philip of Macedon, 24.

Bathycles, the Magneſian, makes the throne of Amyclean Apollo, ii. 163.

Beattie, Dr. remarks on his Eſſay on Truth, iv. 423. *Note.*

Belus, the temple of, at Babylon, account of, iv. 380.

Bias of Priené, how he diſſuaded Crœſus king of Lydia from attempting naval exploits, i. 303.

Bœotia, revolt of the inferior cities of, from the authority of Thebes, ii. 91. The revolters aſſiſted by the Athenians, 92. Battle of Delium, 291.

Boges, the Perſian governor of Eion, his deſperate conduct and death, on being reduced by Cimon, the Grecian commander, ii 69.

Boxing, how practiſed in the ancient gymnaſtic exerciſes, i. 230.

Brachmans, ancient, account of their tenets, iv. 381.

Braſidas, a Spartan naval commander, joins the fleet of Alcidas in the port of Cyllene, ii 252. His prudent counſel over-ruled by his colleague, 259 His expedition to Thrace, 295. His addreſs to the Acanthians, 296. Procures the revolt of Amphipolis, 298. His death, and honours paid to his memory by the citizens there, 303.

Bucephalus, Alexander the Great's horſe, a city founded to his memory, iv. 356.

Bithynia, ſufferings of the Greeks under Xenophon, in their paſſage through that country, iii. 232.

Byzantium,

Byzantium, its foundation, and peculiar ſituation, deſcribed, ii 55. Is taken from the Perſians by the confederated Greeks, 56.

Is taken by Alcibiades, iii. 42. Is taken from the Athenians by Lyſander, 88. Attempt of Philip of Macedon to ſurpriſe the city, 185.

C

Cabyla founded by Philip of Macedon, iv. 147.

Cadmus, a Phœnician, the founder of Thebes, i. 8.

Calamities, public, call forth the latent reſources of free governments, iii. 7. But increaſe political factions, 90.

Calanus, the Brachman, his death and prophecy, iv. 382.

Calenture, general idea of this diſorder, iii. 327.

Callias, the Athenian admiral, his exertions againſt Philip of Macedon, iv 175.

Callicratidas, the Spartan, manner of his death at the battle of Platæa, i. 509.

————, his reception when ſent from Sparta to ſucceed Lyſander in the command of the Peloponneſian fleet, iii. 63. His manly behaviour, 64. Obtains voluntary contributions from the Ionians, 66. Takes Methymna, 67. Defeats the Athenian fleet under Conon, 68. Is defeated and killed at Arginuſſæ, 70.

Caliſthenes, the ſcholar of Ariſtotle, put to death for a conſpiracy againſt Alexander the Great, iv. 308. *Note.*

Callixenus procures an irregular decree againſt the Athenian admirals accuſed of miſconduct at Arginuſſæ, iii. 77.

Cambyſes, king of Perſia, purſues the conqueſts of his father Cyrus, i. 345. Reduces Egypt, 347. His death, 348.

Camerina, the favour of this city ſought by Hermocrates for Syracuſe, and by Euphemus for the Athenians, ii. 372. The citizens determine to preſerve a neutrality, 375.

Candaules, king of Lydia, the fatal conſequence of his imprudence, i 296

Cappadocia, invaded and ravaged by Crœſus king of Lydia, i. 317.

Caranus, an Argive prince, eſtabliſhes a principality in Macedonia, iv. 2.

Carthage, the foundation and growth of, ii. 2. Prevents the Phocæans from ſettling in Corſica, 4. Commercial proſperity and power of the Carthaginians, *ib.* Civil government of the republic, 5. *Note.* Ambitious and jealous ſpirit of the republic, 7. The learning of, rather directed to uſeful than ornamental arts, *ib.* *Note* Views of the Carthaginians in entering into alliance with Xerxes, 8. They invade Sicily, 37. Conclude a treaty of peace with Gelon, king of Syracuſe, 39.

The Carthaginians undertake the conqueſt of Sicily, iii. 164. Treat the natives cruelly, 165.

Caſtor of Rhodes, his character as a chronologiſt and hiſtorian, i. 291. *Note.*

Cataphracts in the Grecian military, what, iv. 259. *Note.*
Categories, the ten in the ancient logic explained, iii. 505. *Note.*
Cebes the Theban, his final converſation with Socrates, iii. 140. Account of his celebrated Table, 148
Cecrops, his ſettlement in Attica, i. 8. Taught the Greeks agriculture, 12.
Cephalus, his character and ſingular good fortune at Athens, iii. 101.
Ceres, how honoured by the Athenians in the Eleuſinian feſtival, iii. 46
Chabrias, the Athenian general of the Theban army, his addreſs in oppoſing the operations of Ageſilaus in Bœotia, iii. 347. The unuſual attitude of his ſtatue at Rome explained, 348. *Note.* Acts both in the capacities of general and admiral, 349. Is ſent againſt Epaminondas, whom he repulſes from before Corinth, 408. Is killed in the ſocial war, 481.
Chalcis, the region of, in Macedonia, deſcribed, ii. 196.
Chalybeans, their fierce character, and bold oppoſition to the Greeks under Xenophon and Cheiriſophus, iii. 218.
Chares of Athens, his character, iii. 479. Is ſent out to conduct the ſocial war, 480. Is forced to abandon the ſiege of Chios, *ibid.* Accuſes his aſſociates Timotheus and Iphicrates, 482. Engages in the ſervice of Artabazus, 485 Occaſion of his recal, *ib.*
His expedition to Olynthus, iv. 87. Is ſent to Thrace, where he is defeated by Amyntas, 185. Is one of the generals at the battle of Cheronæa, 219.
Charidemus, his character, and expedition to Olynthus, iv. 94.
Chariot races, in the ancient Grecian public games, when inſtituted, i. 231.
Charon, his addreſs and fortitude during the execution of Pelopidas's conſpiracy at Thebes, iii. 336.
Cheiriſophus commands the Spartan troops ſent to aſſiſt Cyrus in his Aſiatic expedition, iii. 183. His advice to the Greeks after the perfidious ſeizure of their generals by Tiſſaphernes, 210 Is elected one of their generals, 211. Memorable retreat of the Greeks from Aſia, *ib.* Leaves Trebizond in ſearch of ſhips to convey his men, 227. His return, 232 His death, *ib.*
Cheronæa, the plain of, why choſen by Philip of Macedon for the encampment of his army, iv. 218. Battle between Philip and the confederated Greeks, 219.
Cherries firſt brought from Ceraſus to Italy by Lucullus, iii. 228.
Cherſoneſus, Thracian, deſcription of the country, iii. 246. Is fortified by Dercyllidas, 247.
Chieftains, Grecian, during the heroic ages, their rank and authority, i. 67.
Chios is beſieged by Chares, iii. 480.
Chiron, the Grecian bard, brief account of, i. 252.
Chorienes, his ſubmiſſion to Alexander the Great, iv. 330.

Chorus in the Grecian theatre, its origin, ii. 140. Its advantages, 142.

Chronology very loosely regarded by the ancient Greek historians, i. 4. *Note.*

Cicero, remarks on his account of the conduct of Callicratidas, ii. 70. *Note.*

Cimmerians, their invasion of Asia Minor, i 294.

Cimon, his character, ii. 68. Succeeds to the command of the Grecian army, on the death of Aristides, *ibid.* His rapid successes in Caria and Lycia, 70. Reduces Phaselis, *ibid.* Defeats the Persian fleet, 72. Surprises the Persian camp at Eurymedon, 73. His successful expedition to Cyprus, 79 Is banished by the influence of Pericles, 94. Parallel between him and Pericles, 97.

Cinadon, his character, and conspiracy against the Spartan government, iii. 250. His plot discovered, 252. Manner of seizing him, 253. He and his associates punished, 254.

Cirrha, a city of the Crisseans, described, i. 214. Is taken and destroyed by the Amphictyonic army, 225.

Clearchus, his address in appeasing the mutiny of Cyrus's Grecian troops, iii. 190. His misconduct at the battle of Cynaxa, 195. Concludes a truce with Tissaphernes, 202. Is perfidiously seized by Tissaphernes, 204.

Cleigenes the Acanthian, his speech in the Spartan assembly against the Olynthian confederacy, iii. 321.

Cleitides the Corinthian, his speech at Athens in favour of a defensive alliance with Sparta, ii. 398.

Cleombrotus, his accession to the throne of Sparta, ii. 328. Is sent to conduct the war in Bœotia, 344. Is sent a second time with that trust, 364. His disposition of his troops on the plain of Leuctra, 367. Is defeated and killed in the battle, 369.

Cleomenes, king of Sparta, rejects the overturks of Aristagoras to involve the Spartans in a war with the Persians, i. 360. His resentment against Clisthenes for fraudulently engaging him to expel Hippias from Athens, 365. *Note.* His death, 415.

Cleon of Athens, his character, ii. 244. Urges the doom of death against the captive citizens of Mytilene, 245 Prevails on the Athenians to reject the Spartan overtures for peace, 280. His seditious artifices, 281. Gains the accidental credit of reducing Sphacteria, 283. Is ridiculed by Aristophanes, 286. Is killed before Amphipolis, 303.

Clisthenes, alterations made by him in the government of Athens, ii. 118.

Clitus, account of the manner of his death, iv. 390.

Cnidus, naval engagement there, between Conon and Pisander, iii. 284.

Codrus, king of Attica, devotes himself to death for the cause of his country, i. 100.

Colchos,

Colchos, by whom ſettled, and a character of the inhabitants, iii. 220. They oppoſe the paſſage of the Greeks under Xenophon and Cheiriſophus, but are defeated by them, 221

Colonization, how practiſed by the early Greeks, i. 13.

Colours in painting, remarks on, iii. 495.

Comedy, Greek, the origin of, ii 144. Its characteriſtic diſtinctions from tragedy, 146. And from modern comedy, 148.

State of, in the age of Alexander the Great, iv 404.

Companions, a body of Macedonian youth, inſtituted by king Philip, iv 20

Conjugal affection, moving ſcenes of, during the heroic ages of Greece, exhibited by Homer, i. 97

Conon is appointed one of the ten commanders to ſuperſede Alcibiades, iii. 62. Is defeated by Callicratidas, 68. Character of his aſſociates Philocles and Adimanthus, 79 His advice rejected, and the Athenian fleet captured by Lyſander, 85. Entertains the hope of retrieving the fortune of Athens, 281. His interview with Artaxerxes, 281. Defeats Piſander by ſea at Cnidus, 284. Prevails on Artaxerxes to rebuild the walls of Athens, 294. His premature endeavours to reſtore the power of Athens, 296 Is put to death by the Perſians, 300.

Corcyra, the fleet of, deſtroyed by Themiſtocles, i. 413

Rupture between this colony and Corinth, ii 184 The fleet of, defeats that of the Corinthians, 187. The Corcyreans ravage the ſtates allied with Corinth, 188 Apply to Athens, *ibid.* Repreſentations of the Corcyrean deputies, 189 A treaty of mutual defence concluded with Athens, 192 Are defeated by the Corinthians in an obſtinate ſea-fight, *ibid* Factions generated in Corcyra by Corinthian intrigues, 253 The demagogues aſſaſſinated, 254. Tumult between the Athenian and the Corinthian factions, *ibid.* Arrival of Nicoſtratus with a ſquadron from Athens, 256. Maſſacre of the Lacedemonian partizans, 260 Perfidious cruelty of the Corcyreans, 263. Their example encreaſes the horrors of the Peloponneſian war, 265.

Corinthians, their ſituation and character, i. 208. Their political revolutions, 210.

Rupture between the republic of, and its colony at Corcyra, ii. 184 The Corinthians undertake the cauſe of Epidamnus, 185. Their fleet defeated by the Corcyreans, 187. Appeal to Athens, 188. Speech of the Corinthian deputies, 190. Defeat the Corcyreans in an obſtinate ſea engagement, 192. Remonſtrate with the Athenians for aſſiſting the Corcyreans, 194. Encourage a revolt of Macedonia from the Athenians, 198. Apply to Sparta for aſſiſtance, 201. Intrigue with, and corrupt their Corcyrean priſoners, 252. Communicate their diſcontents at the peace between Athens and Sparta to the Argives, 307.

Their

Their deſigns againſt Athens diſcovered, iii. 10. Maſſacre of the principal citizens, in conſequence of domeſtic factions, 289

The Corinthians prepare to oppoſe the paſſage of Philip of Macedon into Peloponneſus, iv. 152. Philip inſulted at Corinth, 164.

Coronæa, battle of, between Ageſilaus and the confederate army of Greeks, iii. 285.

Coſſæans reduced by Alexander the Great iv. 378.

Cotys, king of Thrace, his rude way of life, iv. 14. His frantic deluſion 33

Courtezans, Grecian, an account of, ii 155

Craterus ſucceeds Antipater as governor of Macedonia and Greece, iv. 374.

Crenidæ, taken by Philip of Macedon, and called from him Philippi, iv 34.

Crete, how ſettled, and the favourable ſituation of that iſland, i. 28. Inſtitutions and manners of the natives, 32.

Criminal juriſdiction, how exerciſed during the heroic ages of Greece, i. 70.

Criſſa, the republic of, deſcribed, i. 214 Tyrannical impoſitions exacted from the pilgrims to Delphi by the Criſſeans, 215. They plunder the ſhrine of Delphi, 217. Siege of Criſſa, 219. The water that ſupplied the city poiſoned by Nebros of Cos, 222. The city taken and demoliſhed, *ibid.* Cirrha deſtroyed, and the Criſſean community extirpated, 225.

Critias, chief of the thirty tyrants of Athens his character, ii 100. His accuſation of Theramenes, 106. Orders him to be put to death, 109. Is killed in battle with Thraſybulus, 117.

Crito, his laſt converſation with Socrates, iii. 137.

Cræſus, the laſt king of Lydia, ſubdues the Aſiatic Greeks, i. 302. How diſſuaded from attempting naval exploits, 303. His character and ſplendour, *ibid* His converſation with Solon, 305. His extreme ſolicitude for the ſafety of his ſon Atys, and grief for his death, 307. Determines to check the progreſs of Cyrus, 314. Invades Perſia, 317. Is defeated by Cyrus, 319 Is routed by him at Sardes, 321. Is taken at Sardes, 325. How treated by Cyrus, 327. Reproaches the oracle of Delphi, 329.

Crotona, when, and by whom built, ii. 11. The manners of the citizens of, reformed by the lectures of Pythagoras, 26. War between Crotona and Sybaris, 35. Sedition there, which proves deſtructive to the Pythagoreans, 36. The citizens defeated by the Locrians and Rhegians, 41.

Cteſelaus, his principal excellence as a ſculptor, iii 150.

Cteſiphon is proſecuted by Æſchines for his decree in honour of Demoſthenes, iv. 334.

Curtius, Quintus, character of his hiſtory of Alexander the Great, iv. 296. *Note.*

Cyclades, reduced by Datis and Artaphernes, the Perſian generals, i. 388. Their preſent deplorable ſtate, 389. *Note.*

Cynaxa, battle of, between Artaxerxes Mnemon, king of Perſia, and his brother Cyrus, iii. 195.

Cynoſcephalæ, battle of between Pelopidas the Theban general, and Alexander king of Theſſaly, iii. 442.

Cyprus, deſcription of that iſland, and its circumſtances, when the Athenians meditated the conqueſt of it from the Perſians, ii. 75. Succeſsful expedition of Cimon to, 79

Cyrenaica, hiſtory of the Greek inhabitants of, i. 347. How withdrawn from the ſphere of Grecian polities, iii. 162.

Cyrus, king of Perſia, his extraction, i. 310. His firſt exploits, 313. Defeats Crœſus, king of Lydia, 319. Routs him again at Sardes, 321. Takes the city of Sardes, 325. His treatment of Crœſus, 327. His reply to the ſolicitations of the Ionians, 332. His reply to the Spartan deputies, 337. Beſieges Babylon, 342. Reduces it by ſtratagem, 344. His character 351.

——, ſon of Darius Nothus, his interview with Lyſander in Aſia Minor, iii. 54. Solicits the re-appointment of Lyſander to the command of the Spartan fleet, 81. Diſputes the ſucceſſion of his brother Artaxerxes, 178. His character, 180. State of Lower Aſia under his adminiſtration. 181. His popular conduct, 182. Procures the aſſiſtance of the Greeks to acquire the empire of Perſia, 184. His expedition into Upper Aſia, 185. His interview with Epyaxa, wife of Syenneſis, governor of Cilicia, 187. The mutiny of his Grecian troops at Tarſus, appeaſed by the addreſs of Clearchus, 190. He paſſes the Euphrates, 192 Battle of Cynaxa, 195. His death, 197.

Cythera, the iſland of, ſubdued by the Athenians under Nicias, ii. 289.

Cyzicus, the whole Peloponneſian fleet captured there by Alcibiades, iii. 37.

D

Danaus, his ſettlement at Argos, i. 8.

Darius Codomanus, his acceſſion to the throne of Perſia, iv. 254. His inactivity during the progreſs of Alexander accounted for, 276. Collects an immenſe army to oppoſe Alexander, 277. His indiſcreet march to Iſſus, 282. Diſpoſition of his army at the battle of Iſſus, 285. Is routed, 287. His eſcape; *ibid.* Battle of Arbela, 311. His flight, 315. His aſſaſſination, 322.

——— Hyſtaſpis, king of Perſia, his character, i. 349. His revenue and reſources, 352. His expedition into Scythia, 353. His exertions to reduce the revolt of Ionia, 374. Takes Miletus, 380. His attention to the proſperity of Ionia after its reduction, 381. His reſentment againſt the Athenians, 385. His inſtructions to Datis and Artaphernes, 387. His unexpected generoſity to his Eretrian priſoners after the battle of Marathon,

399. His laſt years employed in preparations for another Grecian expedition, 417. See *Xerxes.*

Darius Nothus, king of Perſia, the firſt acts of his reign, and his character, iii. 4. His generals violate the Perſian treaty with Athens, 5. Sends his ſon Cyrus into Aſia Minor, 54. His death, 177.

Datis and *Artaphernes*, Perſian generals, their invaſion of Greece, i. 386. They reduce the Cyclades, 388. Land in Attica, 390. Battle of Marathon, 398.

Dead, the memory of thoſe ſlain in war, how celebrated by the Athenians, ii. 222. *Note.*

Decelia, in Attica, fortified by Agis, king of Sparta, ii. 384.

Decemvirs choſen by the Athenians on the depoſition of the thirty tyrants, iii. 119.

Dedalus the Athenian, and Dedalus of Sicyon, probably confounded by the Athenian writers, ii. 161. *Note.*

Delium, battle of, between the Thebans and Athenians, ii. 291.

Delphi, how the oracle there obtained a ſuperior degree of credit over other oracles, i. 112. Deſcription of Delphi, *ibid.* Mode of delivering oracles there, 114. Its influence in eſtabliſhing the Olympic games and the laws of Sparta, 115. The merchants and pilgrims that reſorted to the city and temple oppreſſed by the Criſſeans, 215. The temple plundered by the Criſſeans, 217. Command of the oracle on this occaſion, 218. How reſcued from the attempt of Xerxes, 463.

The temple ſeized by the Phocians under Philomelus, iv. 46

Demades, his character and oppoſition to Demoſthenes, iv. 74. Reprimands the levity of Philip of Macedon after the battle of Cheronæa, 222.

Demaratus, joint king of Sparta, is reduced by Cleomenes his aſſociate, to take refuge at the court of Perſia, i 415. His character of the Greeks, in converſation with Xerxes, 425. Explains the character of the Spartans to him, 437.

Demetrius (Phalereus), the firſt writer who cultivated chronology as a ſcience, i 4. *Note.*

Demochares, his inſolence to Philip of Macedon, iv. 228.

Demoſthenes, the Athenian general, his expedition to Ætolia, ii 269. Storms Ægitium, 271. Defends Naupactus, 272. Surpriſes the camp of the Ambraſians, 273. Fortifies Pylus, 275. His gallant defence of this port againſt the Spartans, 276 Reduces Sphacteria, 284. His operations in Bœotia diſconcerted, 291. Carries a reinforcement to Nicias before Syracuſe, 285. He and his troops captivated by Gylippus on his retreat from Syracuſe, 407. Is put to death, 411.

————, the orator, his firſt appearance againſt Philip of Macedon, iv. 61. The motives by which he was actuated, 63. His firſt Philippic, 65. Meaſures propoſed by him for reſiſting Philip, 68. His military behaviour in Eubœa, 79. His firſt oration

tion in favour of the Olynthians, 81. Cauſe of his partiality to Chares, 89. His ſecond oration in behalf of the Olynthians, 90. His third oration for the Olynthians, 95. His quarrel with Æſchines, 110. Diſſenſions between him and his colleagues, ambaſſadors to Philip, 113. Is diſabled by embarraſſment from addreſſing Philip, 115. His artful behaviour to his aſſociates on their return, 116. His ſpeech at the report of the embaſſy, 117. Procures himſelf to be joined in another embaſſy to Philip, 122. His ſpeech to Philip, *ibid.* Is prevented from declaring his ſentiments to the Athenians by his colleagues, 137. Adviſes the Athenians not to break their treaty with Philip, 141. His celebrated reply to the partizans of Macedon, 155. Defends the conduct of Diopeithes, 169. Receives Perſian pay to encourage his oppoſition to Philip, 176. Honours conferred on him for his ſervices in Eubœa, 178. Exhorts the Athenians to aſſiſt the cities of Propontis, 180. Renews his exhortations, 184. Detects the plot of Antiphon, 201. His oration on the ſeizing of Elatæa by Philip, 214 Perſuades the Thebans to join the Athenians to oppoſe Philip, 217. Repairs the walls and fortifications of Athens at his own charges. 226 His oration in honour of the ſlain at Cheronæa, 229. His maſterly defence againſt Æſchines, 335. His generoſity to him, *ibid.* His baniſhment and death, 336.

Deodatus of Athens oppoſes the cruel reſolution of Cleon againſt the captive citizens of Mytilene, ii. 246. His opinion prevails to reverſe their doom, 249.

Deræ, battle of, between the Spartans and Meſſenians, i. 182.

Dercyllidas, the Spartan general, his character, iii. 244. His authority continued on account of his ſucceſſes and judicious improvement of them, 245. Fortifies Cherſoneſus againſt the Thracians, 247. His treaty with Tiſſaphernes, *ibid.* Defends Abydus againſt the attempts of Conon and Pharnabazus, 292.

Deſign, hiſtory of the arts of, ii 159. State of, in the age of Alexander the Great, iv. 405.

Dido, probably contemporary with Æneas, ii. 2. *Note.*

Diogenes, the cynic, ridicules the efforts of the Corinthians to oppoſe Philip of Macedon, iv. 152. Is viſited by Alexander king of Macedon, 240.

Dorcognotus diſpoſes Pauſanias to protect Thraſybulus againſt the arms of Lyſander, iii 121.

Diomedon, the Athenian admiral, his ſpeech before his execution, iii 78.

Dioneces the Spartan, his memorable obſervation at the battle of Thermopylæ, i. 449.

Dionyſius of Syracuſe, his firſt riſe and character, iii. 171. His artful uſurpation of the government, 172 His unſucceſsful attempts for literary fame at the Olympic games, 173. Reaſons why

why his character has been tranſmitted down in ſo odious a light, 174.

Dionyſius the younger, his character, iii. 175. His tyranny aboliſhed by Timoleon, 176.

————, a Phocæan, his advice at a counſel of war on board the Grecian fleet ſent to relieve Miletus, i. 378. His ineffectual efforts to introduce active diſcipline in the fleet, 379. Betakes himſelf to piracy, 381.

———— of Halicarnaſſus, his diſtinctions in the qualities of ſtyle, i. 239 *Notes.*

Diopeithes, an Athenian general, ſent into Thrace, his vigorous exertions againſt Philip of Macedon, iv. 167. His conduct defended by Demoſthenes, 169. Is defeated and killed by Philip, 182.

Dodona, origin of the oracle there, i. 110.

Dorians, their origin and derivation of their name, i 5. Engage as auxiliaries to the Heracleidæ, 96 Eſtabliſh themſelves in Peloponneſus, 98. Migration of, 103. Why not alarmed at the progreſs of Cyrus, 334.

Review of their circumſtances at the time of their emigration to Magna Græcia, ii. 16.

Draco, the lawgiver of Athens, character of him and his inſtitutions, ii 105.

E

Education, the main objects of, during the heroic ages of Greece, i 80 How regulated by Lycurgus at Sparta, 143.

By Solon at Athens, ii. 115. The plan of, according to the Pythagorean ſchool, 31.

Egypt, the Egyptians why unqualified for reliſhing or improving muſic, i 237. A ſettlement of Grecian pirates eſtabliſhed in Egypt, 345. Is reduced by Cambyſes, 347.

Revolt of, under Inarus, ii 76. The arts of deſign early cultivated there 160.

Ready ſubmiſſion of that country to Alexander the Great, iv. 304 The city of Alexandria founded, 305. Hiſtory of, ſubſequent to Alexander, 398.

Eira, the fortreſs of, gallantly defended by Ariſtomenes the Meſſenian, i 192 Is ſurpriſed by the Spartans, 193.

Elatæa ſeized by Philip of Macedon, iv. 212.

Elegy, in poetry, to what purpoſes principally applied by the Greeks, i. 258.

Eleuſinian myſteries, the celebration of, at Athens deſcribed, iii. 46. Requiſites for initiation into them, 47. The proceſſion of, conducted by Alcibiades, 18

Elis, the republic of, contraſted with that of Sparta, i. 211.

The Eleans deſtroy Piſa, and adorn the temple of the Olympian Jupiter, ii 86.

The Elians feebly assist the Spartans against the Athenians, iii. 159. Elis invaded by the Spartans, 160. The Elians subjugated by the Spartans, 161. The Elian territory invaded by the Arcadians, who seize Olympia, and celebrate the games, 445. The city restored to them, 449.

Enharmonic genius of Grecian music, by whom invented, i. 242.

Ennius, his concise enumeration of the principal Greek and Roman divinities, i. 63. *Note.*

Eolians, their origin, i. 5. Eolia settled by Peloponnesian fugitives, 90. Confederacy of the Eolians against Cyrus, 333.

Epaminondas, his character, and the share he took in Pelopidas's conspiracy, iii. 339. Appears at the Grecian congress at Sparta as the Theban deputy, 353. His demands, 356. Reflections on his conduct, 358. Assembles the Theban forces on the heights before the plain of Leuctra, 365. Disposition of his troops opposed to Cleombrotus, 367. Battle of Leuctra, 368. Ravages Laconia, and rebuilds Messené, 401. His motives for evacuating Laconia, 404. Is tried for his conduct, and his defence before the Theban assembly, 405. Marches against Corinth, 408. Is again disgraced, 409. Delivers Pelopidas from the hands of Alexander king of Thessaly, 420. Compels the Achæans to accept the Theban alliance, 429. Aims to render Thebes mistress of the sea, 440. His attempt to surprise Sparta, 454. Attempts Mantinæa, 455. His victory before that city, 459. His death, 460 His character, 462.

Ephialtes, an agent employed by Pericles to undermine the authority of the senate and Areopagus at Athens, ii. 121.

Ephori, instituted by Lycurgus at Sparta, the nature of their office, i. 130.

Epialtes, his treachery to the Greek defenders of the straits of Thermopylæ, i. 440.

Epicides, his opposition to Themistocles silenced by a bribe, i. 430.

Epicurus, account of his philosophy, iv. 447. His character, 449.

Epidamnus, the citizens of, apply to Corinth for protection against the Taulantii, ii. 185. Submits to the Corcyreans on the defeat of the Corinthian fleet, 187.

Epode and Iambic, the distinction between, i. 263.

Epyaxa, wife of Syennesis, governor of Cilicia, mediates between Cyrus prince of Persia and her husband, iii. 187.

Equestrian exercises at the ancient public games, described, i. 231.

Eretria, naval engagement there, between the Peloponnesian and the Athenian fleets, iii. 33.

Esculapius engages in the Argonautic expedition, i. 21.

Eteocles and *Polynices*, the sons of Oedipus, history of, i. 25.

Eteonicus, his stratagem to preserve the Peloponnesian fleet after the defeat of Callicratidas, iii. 71. His address in quelling a mutiny among his seamen, 80.

Evagoras, king of Cyprus, his hiſtory and character, iii. 270 His attachment to Athens and friendſhip for Conon, 280. Revolts againſt the Perſians, 305. Is reduced to become tributary to Perſia, 308.

Eubœa, the iſland of, reduced by the Perſians, i 389.

State of that iſland, after the expulſion of the Thebans, iv. 76. The intrigues of Philip of Macedon there, *ibid.* Philip expels the Athenians, 104. The Macedonians expelled by Phocion and Demoſthenes, 177.

Eudamidas, his expedition to Macedon, iii. 325.

Euephnus the Lacedemonian, his perfidy, and the fatal conſequences of it, i. 159.

Eumenes, ſecretary to Alexander the Great, his character, iv. 377.

Euphaes, king of Meſſené, his advice on the treacherous hoſtilities of the Spartans, i. 163. His exhortation to his forces, 167. His indecilive battle with the Spartans, 168. His humane expoſition of the oracular demand of a virgin ſacrifice, 174. His death, 175.

Euphemus, the orator, his reply to Hermocrates at Camerina, ii. 374.

Euphranor, the Corinthian painter, his great character, and principal works, iii. 491.

Euphrates, the inundations of, reſtrained by Alexander the Great, iv. 371.

Euphron, uſurps the government of Sicyon, iii. 431. Is aſſaſſinated, 433.

Eupompus, the Grecian painter, forms a new ſchool at Sicyon, iii. 490.

Euripides completes the Grecian tragedy, by perfecting the chorus, ii. 140. His character, 142.

Euridice, queen of Macedonia, ſolicits the aſſiſtance of Iphicrates in behalf of her ſons, iv. 8.

Eurylochus, a Theſſalian prince, commands the Amphictyonic army ſent againſt Criſſa, i. 219. His army diſtreſſed by peſtilence, 220. Takes and deſtroys the city, 221

Eurymedon conducts an Athenian fleet to the aſſiſtance of Corcyra, ii. 260. Concurs in the perfidious cruelty of the Corcyrean parties, 264.

———, the Perſian camp there ſurpriſed and taken by Cimon, ii. 73.

Euxine Sea, the Southern coaſt of, iii. 223. Xenophon propoſes to ſettle his Grecian troops there, 231.

F

Fables, current leſſons of morality in the early ages of Greece and Rome, ii. 128.

G

Gallies of the ancients, the true diſpoſition of the rowers deſcribed, i. 208. *Note.* Skilful management of them in battle, 379.

Games,

Games, public, why inſtituted by the ancient Greeks, i. 226.
Gaza, taken by Alexander the Great, after a deſperate defence, iv. 302.
Gellias of Agrigentum, his riches and ſplendid mode of life, iii. 168. His miſerable death, 170.
Gelon, king of Syracuſe, his character ii. 36. His ſtratagem to deſtroy Hamilcar, and his Carthaginian fleet, 37. Dictates the terms of peace to Carthage, 39.
Geography, improved by the expedition of Alexander the Great to the Eaſt, iv. 409.
Germans, as deſcribed by Tacitus, compared with the Greeks as deſcribed by Homer, i. 51. Their ſuperſtition dark and gloomy, 52
Glaucias, king of the Taulantii, takes arms againſt Alexander king of Macedon, iv. 245 Is defeated by him, 246.
Gods of the ancient Greeks, the origin and number of, accounted for, i. 62.
Gongylus, the Corinthian, brings news of relief to the beſieged Syracuſans, ii. 377.
Gordius, his hiſtory, iv. 274. His famous knot untied or cut by Alexander the Great, 275.
Gorgias of Leontium applies to Athens for protection againſt the uſurpations of Syracuſe, ii. 337.
Granicus, battle of, between Alexander the Great and the Perſians, iv 258.
Greece, the ancient hiſtory of, not ſo imperfect as might be expected, i. 2. Characters of the early Greeks hiſtorians, 3. *Note.* Traditionary accounts of the origin of the Greeks, 4. The Dorians, Eolians, and Ionians, 5. Arrival of colonies from Egypt and the Eaſt. 6 Source of the Greek theology, 7. The Phœnician alphabet introduced, 10 The ancient mode of barter, *ibid.* How peopled by colonies from the few original eſtabliſhments, 13 Happy ſituation of this country for commerce, 16. Circumſtances which retarded the progreſs of ſociety in, *ibid.* Piratical invaſions by ſea, and rapacious inroads by land, 17. Origin of the Amphictyonic council, 19. Argonautic expedition, 20 The object and conſequences of this expedition, 22. The heroic ages, 23. The war of Thebes, 25. Improvements in domeſtic policy, 32. Its ſtrength and reſources, 34. Deſcription and extent of the country, *ibid.* Review of the force ſent againſt Troy, 37 Cauſes of the Trojan war, 40. Hiſtory of that war, 44. Calamitous return of the Greeks after the deſtruction of Troy, 47. Inquiry into the juſtice of the encomium paſſed by the Greeks on their own country, 49. Compariſon between the Greeks of the heroic ages and the Germans, as deſcribed by Tacitus, 51. The ſanctions of their religion, 54. The moral tendency and doctrine of futurity in their religion, aſſerted in oppoſition to late inquiries, 56. Influence of religion on the

political ſtate of, 65. The ſtates of, during the heroic ages, rather republics than monarchies, 66. Their civil regulations, 70. Marriage, 73 Parental affection, 77 Military arts, 79. Arts of peace, 83. Agriculture, *ibid.* Mechanical arts, 84. Fine arts, *ibid* Sciences, 86. Education, *ibid.* Amuſements, 87. General eſtimate of manners and inſtitutions during the heroic ages, 88. Diſtractions that enſued after the deſtruction of Troy, 91. Cauſes of the migrations of the Hellenic tribes, 93. The Heracleidæ eſtabliſh themſelves in Peloponneſus, 96. Diviſion of their conqueſts, 97. Rivalſhip between the Ionians and Dorians, 100 The Ionic migration, 101. Progreſs of coloniſation, 102. Doric migration, 103. View of the Aſiatic colonies, *ibid.* Abolition of monarchy in Greece, 105. Origin of oracles, 109 Account of that at Delphi, 112 Eſtabliſhment of the Olympic games, 118. The poems of Homer collected by Lycurgus, 124 Laws of Sparta, 129. State of Greece after the abolition of monarchies, 153 War between the Spartans and Meſſenians, 158. State of, at the cloſe of the firſt Meſſenian war, 177. Second Meſſenian war, 182. State of Peloponneſus after the conqueſt of Meſſenia, 207. State of the northern republics and colonies, 212. Cauſes of the ſacred war traced, 216. The ſhrine of Delphi plundered by the Cirrhæans, 217 Principal events of the ſacred war, 218. Inſtitution of the Pythian games, 226 Gymnaſtic exerciſes, 229 Equeſtrian exerciſes, 231. The Grecian muſic deſcribed, 233. Cauſes of the perfection of the Greek language and muſic, 238. Grecian poetry and poets, 248. State of the Greek colonies in Europe and Africa, 289. In Aſia, 290. Hiſtory of Lydia, 296 Ionia over-run by the Perſians, 337. Revolt of the Ionians againſt the Perſian government, 357. Conſtitution of Athens, as regulated by Solon, 361. Rapid ſucceſſes of the Athenians after the eſtabliſhment of a democracy, 364 Siege of Miletus by the Perſians, 373 Defeat of the fleet ſent to relieve Miletus, and loſs of that city, 380. Three diſtinct periods into which the hiſtory of the Perſian invaſion may be divided, 384. The Cyclades reduced, 388. Battle of Marathon, 407 State of the ſeveral republics at the time of the invaſion of Xerxes, 414 Meaſures taken by the Grecian ſtates to reſiſt the invader, 426. Battle of Thermopylæ, 447. Firſt ſea-fight at Artemiſium, 455. The ſecond, 457. Attica over-run by Xerxes, 464. Battle of Salamis, 475. Retreat of Xerxes, 479. Battle of Platæan, 505. Battle of Myçalé, 511.

State of Greece by the event of this battle, ii. 1. Hiſtory of the coloniſation of Magna Græcia, 9. Wiſdom of the Achæa laws, 14. Life of Pythagoras, the philoſopher of Samos, 19. Proſperity of the Athenians, 43. Treachery of Pauſanias, 56. Baniſhment and Death of Themiſtocles, 65. Death of Ariſtides, and elevation of Cimon to the command of the Grecian army, 67.

67. Peace concluded between Artaxerxes and the Athenians, 80. Obſtacles to a general and laſting confederacy of the Grecian ſtates, 81. The city of Sparta deſtroyed by an earthquake, 84. Third Meſſenian war, *ibid.* Commotions among the Grecian ſtates, 89. The famous truce of thirty years, 94. Character of Draco and his laws, 105. Review of the inſtitutions of Solon, 106. Hiſtory of the Greek philoſophy, 127. Tragedy, 139. Comedy, 143. The Grecian feſtivals, 150. Condition of the Grecian women, 152. The courtezans, 155. Superiority of the Greeks in the arts of deſign, 158. Review of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Grecian artiſts and their works, 170. Hiſtory of the Peloponneſian war, 181. Sentiments of the Lacedæmonian allies on the peace between Athens and Sparta, 305. The war renewed, 318. Athenian expedition to Sicily, 350. Diſaſtrous event of this undertaking, 401.

General combination of the Grecian ſtates againſt Athens, iii. 3. The treaty with Athens violated by the Perſians, 5. The preparations of the Peloponneſians to aſſiſt the revolt of the Aſiatic dependencies of Athens, 8. Battle of Miletus, 11. The democracy of Athens overturned, and the government of the four hundred formed, 24. The democracy reſtored at Athens, 33. Account of the Eleuſinian myſteries, 46. Athens beſieged by Lyſander, 90. Athens taken and diſmantled, 94. Cruel oppreſſion of the Spartan government over the conquered provinces, 98. The thirty tyrants of Athens, 100. Accuſation and death of Socrates, 129. His principal followers, 147. State of fine arts at this time, 149. The Elians ſubjugated by the Spartans, 161. The Meſſenians driven from Greece by the Spartans, *ibid.* How Sicily was detached from a dependance on Greece, 162. Memorable retreat of the Greeks from Aſia, under the conduct of Xenophon and Cheiriſophus, 211. War between Artaxerxes and Sparta, 241. A jealouſy of the Spartan power entertained by the Grecian ſtates, excited by the intrigues of Tithrauſtes, 267. A league formed againſt Sparta, 275. The walls of Athens rebuilt by Conon, 294. The terms of a general peace, dictated by Artaxerxes, 304. Reflections on this peace, 309. War in Macedon, 323. The citadel of Thebes ſeized by the Spartans, 331. The democracy in Thebes reſtored by Pelopidas, 340. Congreſs held at Sparta under the influence of Artaxerxes Mnemon, 352. Battle of Leuctra, 368. State of Greece after this battle, 374 State of Theſſaly, 377. State of Greece after the aſſaſſination of Jaſon of Pheræ, 389. Alliance between Athens and Sparta, 397. 406. A general congreſs of the Grecian ſtates at the court of Artaxerxes, 423. But the ratification of the treaty concluded there, refuſed by the Grecians at home, 426. Battle of Mantinæa, 459. State of Greece after that battle, 465. Abuſes of judiciary power in the Greek republics, 470. Abuſes of the theatre, 472. The ſocial war of Athens, 480. State of philoſophy at this time,

485. Statuary, 487. Painting, 489. Literature, 497. Xenophon, *ibid.* Plato, 502.

History of Macedon, iv. 2. The ſacred war againſt Phocis, 44. Philip ſtopped at the ſtraits of Thermopylæ, 61. Macedon declared a member of the Hellenic body, 143. Philip declared general of the Amphictyons, 197. Battle of Cheronæa, 218. Nature and extent of Philip's authority in Greece, 232. Death of Philip and acceſſion of Alexander, 237. Deſtruction of Thebes by Alexander, 248. Commotions in, checked by Antipater, 333. Remains in quiet during the remainder of Alexander's reign, 334. State of, during the latter years of Alexander, 337. Death of Alexander, 383. Great extent of the Greek language, 398. *Note.* State of, after the death of Alexander, 400. State of literature, 402. Muſic, 405. Arts of deſign, *ibid.* Geography, aſtronomy, and natural hiſtory, 409. Works of Ariſtotle, 411. The Peripatetics, 419. Philoſophical tenets of Ariſtotle, 430. Tenets of the ſtoics, 433. Tenets of Epicurus, 447. Of Pyrrho, 449.

Gylus, the ſon of Xenophon, ſuppoſed to have killed Epaminondas, iii. 460. *Note.*

Guiſchard, his remarks on the difference of warfare between the ancients and the moderns, iv. 316. *Note.*

Gyges, how he obtained the crown of Lydia, i. 296.

Gylippus, the Spartan commander, his timely arrival to the relief of the beſieged Syracuſans, ii. 378. Defeats the Athenians in a ſally, 379. Defeats them in a general engagement, 387. Captures Demoſthenes and his troops on their retreat from Syracuſe, 406. And Nicias, 409.

Gymnaſtic exerciſes in the Grecian games deſcribed, i. 228.

H

Haliartus, beſieged by Lyſander, but relieved by the Thebans, iii. 271. Lyſander defeated and killed before the town, 272.

Halicarnaſſus, beſieged by Alexander the Great, iv. 265. The town taken and demoliſhed, 268.

Hamilcar, his invaſion of Sicily, and death, ii. 37.

Hannibal, undertakes the conqueſt of Sicily, iii. 164. Is, with the greateſt portion of his troops, deſtroyed by the peſtilence, 165.

Happineſs, how eſtimated by Solon the Athenian ſage, i. 306.

Harmocydes, commander of the Phocian detachment ſent to the army of Mardonius, his gallant behaviour on his ill reception by that general, i. 495.

Harpagus, a Mede, his ſtratagem to give Cyrus an advantage in battle over Crœſus, i. 320 Reduces the countries of Lower Aſia for Cyrus, 337. Takes Phocæa abandoned by its inhabitants, 339.

Harpalus, governor of Babylon under Alexander the Great, his unſucceſsful treachery, iv. 368.

Hecatonpolis, the ancient name of Laconia, i. 155.
Hecatus, the diviner, his politic advice to the Spartans at the ſurpriſe of Eira, i. 198.
Hegaſandridas commands a Peloponneſian fleet ſent to the Athenian coaſt, iii. 32. Defeats the Athenians at Eretria, 33.
Hegelochus, the Athenian general, protects Mantinæa againſt the ſurpriſe attempted by Epaminondas, iii. 456.
Helen, the motive that ſuggeſted the rape of, i. 40. Hiſtory of, 41. Is married to Menelaus, *ibid.* Elopes with Paris, *ibid.* Is recovered on the deſtruction of Troy, 47. Inſtance of her perſonal attentions, 324. *Note.*
Hellebore, a plant anciently cultivated and prepared at Criſſa for medicinal uſe, i 214.
Hellenes, their origin, i. 5. Diffuſe their colonies and language over Greece, 13. Cauſes of the migrations of the Hellenic tribes after the Trojan war, 93.
Helots, in Sparta, who comprehended under that appellation, i. 136. How they were reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery, 157. Conſpire with the Partheniæ to revenge their common ſufferings, 179. The Meſſenians reduced to the ſame degree of ſervitude with them, 211. Revolt of them and the Meſſenians, termed the third Meſſenian war, ii. 84. They are received by the Athenians on the reduction of Ithomé, 85. Cruel treatment of, by the Spartans, 294. Are armed by the Spartans at the renewal of the Peloponneſian war, 318.
Hephestion, the favourite of Alexander the Great, is miſtaken for him by Darius's mother, Siſygambis, iv. 289. Marries Darius's daughter, Drypetis, 375. His death, 376.
Heracleidæ expelled by the Pelopidæ, and received into Attica, i. 95. Their invaſion of, and eſtabliſhment in Peloponneſus, 96. Their diviſion of their conqueſts, 97.
Hermocrates, procures a general congreſs of the Sicilian ſtates, on the interference of the Athenians in the affairs of that iſland, ii. 338. Animates his countrymen to defend Syracuſe againſt the Athenians, 364. He ſolicits aid from the city of Camerina, 372. His works of defence againſt the approaches of the beſiegers, 376. Defeats the Athenian fleet, 382. His ſcheme to prevent the retreat of the Athenian gallies, 393. Another ſcheme to retard their final retreat, 400.
Burns his ſhips, to prevent the capture of them by the Athenians, iii. 37. Is baniſhed by the Syracuſans, but receives teſtimonies of love and reſpect from his ſoldiers and ſailors, 38. His death, 170.
Hermolaus, account of his conſpiracy againſt Alexander the Great, iv. 388. *Note.*
Herodotus, his character and rank as a writer, i. 3. *Note.* His work the intermediate ſhade between poetry and hiſtory, 105. *Note.* His account of the times of Homer and Heſiod, 250. *Note.*

Note. His hiſtory of Cyrus preferable to that of Xenophon, 313. *Note.* His encomium on the climate of Ionia, 353. *Note.* His account of the doctrines of Zoroaſter, 349.

His character as an hiſtorian, iii. 152. Compared with Thucydides, 156.

Heroic ages of Greece, a review of, i. 23. In religion, 52. In policy, 66. In domeſtic affections, 72. In war, 79. In arts, 84. Sciences, 86. Education, *ibid.* Amuſements, 87. General eſtimate of manners and inſtitutions, 88.

Heſiod, his account of the number of heathen divinities, i. 62.

Hex meter thought to be the only kind of verſe known in the time of Homer, i. 249. *Note.*

Hieron, king of Syracuſe, his reign, ii, 335.

Hipparchus, tyrant of Athens, his character, ii. 117.

Hippias, king of Athens, expelled for his oppreſſive government, i. 364, 365. *Note.* Abortive attempt of the Spartans to reſtore him, 366. Applies to the Perſians, 368. Is killed in the battle of Marathon, 399.

Hippocrates, the phyſician, the letters under his name, giving an account of the plague of Athens, ſhewn to be ſpurious, ii. 225. *Note.*

———, the Athenian general, defeated at Delium by the Thebans, ii. 292.

Hippodrome, for equeſtrian exerciſes, at the ancient public games, its ſize, i. 231.

Hiſtiæus, tyrant of Miletus, oppoſes the ſcheme of cutting off the retreat of Darius Hyſtaſpis from Scythia, i. 355. Attaches himſelf to Darius, 356 His ſcheme to withdraw himſelf, *ibid.* Is commiſſioned by Darius to aſſiſt in cruſhing the revolt in Ionia, 374. His intrigues and death, 375.

Homer, his poems illuſtrate the obſcure antiquities of his country, i. 4. His account of the ancient Greek method of barter, 11. *Note.* His poems long an authority to ſettle diſputed boundaries, 36. Inquiry into his authority as an hiſtorian, 49. His mythology conformable to popular belief, 51. Remark on his deſcription of the ſhield of Achilles, 68. *Note.* Exhibits moving ſcenes of conjugal affection, 77. His account of the ſtate of the arts, 83. His poems collected by Lycurgus, and brought to Sparta. 125. The time when he lived aſcertained, *ibid.* *Note.* 250. *Note.*

Honour, the modern point of, unknown to the Greeks, and of Scythian origin, i. 282.

Horſe-races, why not ſo early practiſed as chariot-races at the Grecian public games, i. 232.

Hume, Mr. his encomium on the Roman laws, i. 104. *Note.*

Hydaſpes, paſſage of Alexander the Great over that river, iv. 347. Porus defeated by Alexander, 351. Alexander's paſſage down that river, 363.

Hyperides, decree paſſed at Athens, on his motion, in conſequence of the defeat at Cheronæa, iv. 225.

I

Iambic, and epode, the diſtinction between, i. 263.
Jaſon undertakes the Argonautic expedition, i 20.
—— of Pheræ, his character and fortunes, iii. 377. Conference between him and Polydamas, 378 Is declared captain-general of the Theſſalians, 380. His conqueſts, 381. Courts an alliance with Thebes, 383 His views in mediating a truce between Thebes and Sparta, 384. Circumſtances of his aſſaſſination, 385.
Ideas, Plato's doctrine of, iii. 509.
Inarus, a Lybian chief, heads a revolt of the Egyptions againſt Artaxerxes, ii. 76.
India, an expedition to, undertaken by Alexander the Great, iv. 339. The expedition of Bacchus to, inquired into, 344. *Note.*
Infantry more uſeful in war than cavalry, i. 312.
Inheritance, the law of, during the heroic ages of Greece, i 70
Ionia, the original inhabitants of, i. 5. Is ſettled by Grecian fugitives under Neleus and Androclus, the younger ſons of Codrus, king of Attica, 101. Their proſperity there, 104. 292 Their ſucceſsful cultivation of arts, 293. The Ionians ſolicit the friendſhip of Cyrus, with his anſwer, 332. The Ionian confederacy, 333. Application to the mother-country for aſſiſtance, 335. Is over-run by the Perſians, 337. Revolt of, againſt the Perſians, 357. Are aſſiſted by the Athenians, 369. But at length deſerted by them, 372. Formidable exertions of the Perſians to ſuppreſs them, *ibid.* Siege of Miletus, 373. Defeat the Grecian fleet, but loſe that city, 380. The country recovers its proſperity under the Perſian government, 381. Their ſhips deſert from the Perſians at the battle of Salamis, 477. Battle of Mycalé, 511.
Great progreſs of the fine arts there, ii. 162.
Joſephus, the authenticity of his hiſtory of the Jews defended, ii. 21. *Note.* Reaſons for diſcrediting his account of the journey of Alexander the Great to Jeruſalem, iv. 301. *Note.*
Iphicrates, commands the Grecian auxiliaries ſent to Perſia, but returns diſguſted at the ſervice, iii. 351 Is ſent with an army to aſſiſt the Spartans againſt the Theban invaſion, 401. His conduct cenſured, 404. Is accuſed by Chares, and tried for failure of duty, 482. Dies in exile, 483.
Iphitus inſtitutes the regular celebration of the Olympic games, i. 118.
Iron, its uſefulneſs and ſcarcity rendered, in early times, a very convenient meaſure of exchange, i. 134. The coinage of it, therefore, into money at Sparta, not improbable, *ibid.*

Iſidas,

Iſadas, a Spartan, romantic ſtory told of, by Plutarch, iii. 455. *Note.*

Iſchylus, his deſperate defence of Sciritis againſt the Arcadians, iii. 394.

Iſocrates, his encomium on Pythagoras, how to be underſtood, ii. 22. *Note.*

His character of the Eleuſinian myſteries, iii. 47. *Note* His character of the ariſtocratical factions ſupported by Lyſander, 99. *Note.* His character as an orator, 501. Motives of his conduct in reference to Philip of Macedon, 502.

Iſſus, diſpoſition of the Macedonian and Perſian armies, previous to the battle of, iv. 284. The Perſians defeated, 287.

Ithomé, maintained by the Meſſenians againſt the Spartans, i. 171. Is reduced by the Spartans, 176.

The fortreſs of, ſeized by the Helots, on the deſtruction of Sparta by an earthquake, ii. 84. Long ſiege and reduction of, 85.

Jupiter, the temple of, at Olympia, deſcribed, ii. 86. Compariſon of, with other Grecian temples, 89. The temple of, in Agrigentum, deſcribed, iii. 167.

——— (Ammon), the ſituation of the oracle of, deſcribed, iv. 306. Is viſited by Alexander the Great, 307.

Juſtin, his character of Arrybus, the grandfather of Pyrrhus, iii. 582, *Note*

Juvenal, his ſatires criticized, i. 421. *Note.*

K

Knowledge, human, Plato's account of the origin of, iii. 512.

L

Laconia deſcribed, i. 155. See *Sparta.*

Lacrines, a Spartan deputy, his declaration to Cyrus, king of Perſia, i. 336.

Lamachus, his advice to the Athenian commanders of the armament ſent to Sicily, ii. 354. Is killed before Syracuſe, 376.

Lampſacus is taken by Lyſander, the Peloponneſian admiral, iii. 82.

Land, an idea of property in, one of the moſt important ſteps in the progreſs of ſociety, i. 12. Diſputed boundaries of, in Greece, long ſettled by the authority of Homer's poems, 36. How cultivated in Greece, during the heroic ages, 67. How divided in Sparta, by the laws of Lycurgus, 132.

Langarus, chief of the Agrians, aſſiſts Alexander in his return to Pella, iv. 245.

Language, general compariſon between that of Greece and that of the Orientals, i. 15. *Note.* Cauſes of the perfection of the Greek language, 238. Connection between the melody of language and that of muſic, 243.

Laocoon, the fine expreſſion of this piece of ſculpture, ii. 177.

Lariſſa, vigorous defence of, againſt Thimbron, iii. 244 Is reduced by Dercyllidas, *ibid*

Leontamus, commander of an Athenian convoy of proviſions to Selymbria, ſeized by the Macedonians, iv. 182. The ſhips reſtored by Philip, 183.

Leonidas ſucceeds to the throne of Sparta, i. 416. Commands the Peloponneſians in the ſtraits of Thermopylæ, 432. Repels the attacks of the Perſians, 439. His magnanimity on diſcovering the treachery of Ephialtes, 444. Surpriſe the Perſian camp in the night, 446. Is killed in the memorable battle of Thermopylæ, 448.

Leontiades, betrays the citadel of Thebes to Phœbidas the Spartan general, iii. 330. Is killed by Pelopidas, 338.

Leotychides, the reputed ſon of Agis king of Sparta, his doubtful legitimacy, iii 13 His pretenſions to the crown of Sparta diſputed by Ageſilaus, 249

Leſbos, deſcription and hiſtory of that iſland, ii. 234. Its political connection with Athens, 236. Meaſures taken by the Leſbians preparatory to a revolt, 237. They join the confederacy againſt Athens, 239 Siege of Mytilene, *ibid.* The city ſurrenders, 241. Treatment of the inhabitants, 250.

Leuctra, the Spartan forces aſſemble on the plain of, iii. 364. Battle there againſt the Thebans, 367.

Literature, ſtate of, in Greece, at the cloſe of the ſocial war of Athens, iii. 497.

———, ſtate of, in the age of Alexander the Great, iv. 402.

Lucian, his encomium on the Cnidian Venus, iii 488.

Lycomedes, the leader of the Arcadians, defeats and kills Polytropos the Spartan general, iii. 391. His character, 409. His ſpirited addreſs to his countrymen, 410. Is defeated by Archidamus, 412. His firm oppoſition to Pelopidas's treaty, 427. Effects a peace between the Arcadians and the Athenians, 431.

Lycurgus, the Spartan legiſlator, regulates the athletic exerciſes in the Olympic games, i. 120. State of Greece in his age, 122. Occaſion of his travelling, 124. Collects the poems of Homer, and brings them to Sparta *ibid.* Circumſtances that recommended theſe compoſitions to his notice, 125. The main objects of his legiſlation, 127. His favourable reception at Delphi, 128. His regulations for the diſtribution of political power, 129. Inſtitutes the Ephori, 130. His laws concerning property, 131. Introduces iron money, 133. Effects of his inſtitutions, *ibid.* His laws compriſed in memorial verſes, 136. His expedients to encourage population, 139. His care of the women, 141. Of education, 143. Coincidence of his inſtitutions with thoſe of the heroic ages, 148. Cauſes which undermined his inſtitutions, 150. His expedient to bind the Spartans to preſerve his laws, 152.

Con-

Conformity between his inſtitutions and thoſe of Pythagoras, ii. 33.

Lycurgus, the orator, ſtimulates the Athenians to put to death their general Lyſicles, iv. 226.

Lydia, its ancient limits, i. 295. Brief hiſtory of, 296. Sardes taken by Cyrus, 325.

Lyſander, commander of the Peloponneſian forces, his character, iii. 52. His conference with Cyrus, the ſon of Darius, 54. Procures an augmentation of pay for the Grecian ſeamen, 58. Defeats the Athenian fleet in the abſence of Alcibiades, 60. His capacity for party intrigues, 62. Is ſucceeded by Callicratidas, 65. Reſumes the command of the fleet, and takes Lampſacus, 82. Defeats and captures almoſt the whole of the Athenian fleet, 85. Puts his priſoners to death, 88 Reduces the coaſts and iſlands of Aſia and Europe, 88. Beſieges Athens, 90. The city ſurrenders, and is diſmantled, 94. His arbitrary and cruel treatment of the conquered provinces, 98. Procures the death of Alcibiades, 112. He inveſts Thraſybulus in the Piræus, 120. His operations oppoſed by Pauſanias. 121 Eſpouſes the pretenſions of Ageſilaus to the Spartan crown, 249. Is diſguſted at the treatment he receives from him, 256. His invaſion of the Theban territory, 271. Is killed before Haliartus, 273.

Lyſias, the orator, his account of the perſecution of himſelf and family by the thirty tyrants of Athens. iii. 102. Collects a body, and joins Thraſybulus to oppoſe them, 115. Character of his orations, 477. *Note*. His character as an orator, 501.

Lyſicles, one of the Athenian generals at the battle of Cheronæa, his indiſcreet conduct, iv. 220. Is put to death, 226.

Lyſippus, his eminence as a caſter in bronze, iv. 406.

Lycæus, preſerves his daughter from being ſacrificed by the Meſſenians, i. 172.

M

Macedonia, the coaſt of, deſcribed, ii. 196. A revolt of, from the Athenian government, inſtituted by the Corinthians, 198. And the Spartans, 293.

The Spartans enter into a war againſt the Olynthian confederacy, iii. 325. Olynthus reduced, 329. Perdiccas eſtabliſhed on the throne of Macedon by Pelopidas, 417.

The firſt principality founded there by Caranus, iv. 2. The prudent conduct of the firſt princes, the primary cauſe of the greatneſs of Macedon, 2. Brief hiſtory of, preceding the reign of Archelaus I. 4. Character of Archelaus, 5. Revolutions in, to the reſtoration of Amyntas II. 6. Eurydice ſolicits the aſſiſtance of Iphicrates, in behalf of her ſons, 8. Hiſtory of Perdiccas, 9. Diſtracted ſtate of the country on his death, 10. Philip declared king, 15. Inſtitution of the band of Companions, 20. The conqueſts of Philip, 22. Birth of Alexander, 37. The Olynthian

Olynthian territory added to Macedon, 100. Macedon declared a member of the Hellenic body, 143 Battle of Cheronæa, 218. Remarks on the liberal ſpirit of the Macedonian government, 231. Death of Philip, and acceſſion of Alexander, 237. See *Alexander.*

Magna Græcia, occaſion of giving this name to the ſouthern diviſion of Italy, i 177.

Hiſtory of the coloniſation of, ii 9 General cauſes of the proſperity of theſe colonies, 12 Their manners and policy improved by Pythagoras, 18. Decline of, and deſtruction of the Pythagoreans, 41.

Malli, raſhneſs of Alexander the Great in beſieging their fortreſs, iv 363.

Man, his obligations, whence derived, according to the Stoics, iv 436.

Mantinæa, battle of, between the Spartans and the confederate Argives and Athenians, ii. 322.

Its ſituation deſcribed, iii. 314. Haughty meſſage received there, from the Spartan government after the peace of Antalcidas, 316. The town beſieged and taken by Ageſipolis, 317. The inhabitants refuſe their ſhare of the Olympic treaſure, 447 Attempt of Epaminondas to ſurpriſe this city, 456. Victory gained by Epaminondas there, 459

Marathon, battle of, between the Perſians and Athenians, i 397.

Mardonius, his character, and expedition to Greece i. 305. His fleet deſtroyed by a ſtorm, 386. Procures himſelf to be left in charge of Greece, on the retreat of Xerxes, 479. Enters into a negociation with the Athenians, 487 His addreſs to the Athenians, *ibid.* The ill ſucceſs of his ſolicitations, 489. Ravages Attica, 492. Battle of Platæa, 504. His death, 506.

Marriage, the obligations and ceremonies of, during the heroic ages of Greece, i. 73. Conjugal affection, 77.

Maſiſtius, a Perſian general, killed in a ſkirmiſh with the Athenians, i. 498.

Maſks, why worn by performers on the Grecian theatre, iii. 473.

Mauvillon, Major, his propoſed correction of Xenophon's account of the order of the Grecian march from Aſia, examined, iii 214. *Note.*

Meaſure, its uſe in regulating the rhythm of ancient muſic, i. 244. The great varieties of, 246.

Mechanical arts, ſtate of, in the heroic ages of Greece, i. 84.

Medea carried into Greece by the Argonauts, i. 22.

Megabazus, the Perſian general, raiſes the ſiege of Memphis, ii. 77. Reduces the Grecian army in Proſopis to capitulation, 78.

Megacreon, of Abdera, his remark on the rapacity of Xerxes's Perſian army, i. 432. *Note.*

Megalopolis, the city of, founded, iii. 413.

Megara, cauſe of the quarrel between that ſtate and Athens, ii. 201, *Note*. The territory of, invaded by Pericles, 222.
Melampus, the Grecian bard, who, i 252.
Melanthus, king of Meſſenia, diſpoſſeſſed of his dominions by the Heracleidæ, i. 98. Becomes king of Attica, 99
Melody of the Grecian muſic, i 241 Diſtinctions under this head, 242. Connection between that of language and that of muſic, 243.
Melos, the iſland of, deſcribed, ii 327. Conference between the commiſſioners from Athens and thoſe of Melos, 328. Reduction of Melos, and cruel fate of the inhabitants, 332
Melville, General, account of his model of the ſeats of the rowers in the ancient gallies, i 209 *Note*.
Memphis, beſieged by the Athenians, and relieved by Megabazus, ii. 77.
Menelaus, his marriage with the famous Helen of Sparta, i 41. Who is ſeduced from him by Paris, 42. Animates the Grecian ſtates to revenge his cauſe, 43
Meſſenia, deſcribed, i. 156. The people, *ibid*. How the capital gained an aſcendency over the other cities in Meſſenia, 57. Cauſes of the war with Sparta, 158 Amphicia ſeized by the Spartans, 162. And the country plundered, 164 An indeciſive battle with the Spartans, 170. The Meſſenians forced to retire to the mountains of Ithomé, 171. Ithomé reduced, 176. Severe terms impoſed by the Spartans, 177. Revolt againſt the Spartans, 181. Battle of Detæ, 182. Succeſsful exploits againſt the Spartans, 183. Ariſtomenes defeated, 190. Diſaſtrous end of the ſecond Meſſenian war, 199.
The third Meſſenian war, ii. 84.
The Meſſenians driven from Greece by the Spartans, iii. 162. Meſſené rebuilt by the Theban general Epaminondas, 402.
Meſſina, the city of, founded, i. 205.
Metaphyſics of Ariſtotle, account of, iv. 412.
Methymna taken by Callicratidas, iii. 67.
Midea, battle of, between the Spartans and the Arcadians, iii. 412.
Miletus, a city of Ionia, beſieged by the Perſians, i. 373. Is taken, 380.
Battle of, between the Athenians and the Peloponneſians, iii. 11.
Military diſcipline of the Grecians. i. 393. Of the Perſians, 395.
Miltiades, king of Cardia, recommends cutting off the retreat of Darius Hyſtaſpis from Scythia, i. 354. Retires to Athens, 355. Conſiderations which influenced him to adviſe the Athenians to riſk a battle with the Perſian invaders, 393. His prudent conduct obtains him the ſole command of the Athenian forces, 397. Diſpoſition of his army at the battle of Marathon, *ibid* Honours beſtowed on him after this victory, 402. Is veſted with the

the command of the fleet, 404. His motive for beſieging Paros, *ibid.* Cauſe of his failure, 405. His unhappy end, 406.

Milton, his deſcription of the Grecian mode of marching to battle, ii. 324. *Note.*

Minerva, the ſtatue of, formed by Phidias, ii. 172. iii. 50. Anniverſary of the Plynteria, how obſerved, *ibid.*

Minos, the elder, his hiſtory and character, i. 29.

——, the ſecond, his character, i. 30. His generoſity to Theſeus, 31.

Minotaur, the fabulous accounts of, exploded, i. 32.

Money, iron, the uſe of, introduced in Sparta by Lycurgus, i. 133.

Morals, a deduction of Plato's doctrine concerning, iii. 511. Cauſes of the diverſity of moral character, 519.

Molynæcians, the ſingular ſtructure of their habitations, iii. 229.

Muſic, that of Greece deſcribed, i. 233. Why introduced at the public games, 215. Its extent, and the purpoſes to which it was applied, *ibid.* Cauſes of its perfection, 238. Melody of, 241. Connection between the melody of language and of muſic, 243. Counterpoint not underſtood by the Greeks, 247 *Note.* Influence of the muſical conteſts at the public games, 287.

Its extenſive influence over mankind, iii. 475. State of, in the age of Alexander the Great, iv. 405.

Mycalé, battle of, between the Greeks and the Perſians, i. 511.

Mycenæ, the town of, deſtroyed by the Argives, ii. 90.

Myronides, the Athenian General in Bœotia, defeats the Thebans near Tanagra, ii. 93.

Mythology of the Greeks juſtified by popular belief, i. 51. Compared with that of the ancient Germans, 52. The powerful effects of, aſſerted, in oppoſition to late inquiries, 54. Attempts to derive the Greek mythology from more remote ſources, hitherto unſucceſsful, 58. Philoſophical deduction of, 59. Moral tendency of, 63. The abuſes of, unknown during the heroic ages, 65. Its influence on the political ſtate of Greece, 66.

Mytilené, the capital of Leſbos, beſieged by the Athenians, ii, 239. Surrenders, 242. The treatment of the captives debated at Athens, 244. Narrow eſcape of the inhabitants, 250. The city demoliſhed, *ibid.*

N

Nature, one univerſal ſyſtem of, iv. 435.

Navigation generally applied by the early Greeks to piratical purpoſes, i. 17.

Naupactus, a ſettlement granted there by the Athenians to the Spartan Helots and Meſſenians, ii. 85. Aſſiſts the Athenians in the Peloponneſian war, 270. 285.

The Meſſenians of Naupactus driven out of Greece by the Spartans, iii. 162.

Nearchus, his famous voyage from the mouth of the Indus to that of the Euphrates, iv 365.

Nebros, of Cos, undertakes the cure of the peſtilence in the Amphictyonic army before Criſſa, i. 220. Poiſons the water that ſupplied the city, 222.

Neobulé, a Parian damſel beloved by Archilochus, her unhappy fate, i. 262.

Niceratus and his ſon put to death by the thirty tyrants of Athens, iii. 100.

Nicomachus betrays the operations of the Athenians in Bœotia to the Spartans, ii, 291.

Nicias of Athens, his character, ii. 282. Reduces the iſland Cythera, 289. Accompliſhes a peace with Sparta, 304. Oppoſes the Sicilian expedition, 343. His ſtratagem to deceive the Syracuſans, 360. Defeats them in battle, 368. He prepares for another campaign, 371. His armament reinforced, 375. Applies to Athens for farther aſſiſtance, 379. Arrival of Demoſthenes with a fleet, 385. Is defeated in a general engagement, 387. Superſtitiouſly delays raiſing the ſiege till his retreat becomes impracticable, 391. Prepares for another ſea-fight, 394. His addreſs to his deſponding troops, on their retreat from Syracuſe, 402. His prudent order of retreat, 404. Is haraſſed by the enemy, 405. Surrenders himſelf and his men to Gylippus, 409. Is put to death, 411.

Nicias, the Athenian painter, his chief excellence, and principal works, iii. 491.

Nicoſtratus commands the Athenian ſquadron ſent to the relief of Corcyra, ii. 256 His judicious conduct in an engagement with the Peloponneſian fleet at Corcyra, 258.

Niobe, the ſculptured group of, deſcribed, ii. 177.

O

Ode in Grecian poetry, the characteriſtics of, i. 275. Its merit injured by the want of the accompaniments of muſic and dancing, 279.

Olympia, deſcription of the temple of Jupiter there, ii. 86. The city of, ſeized by the Arcadians, who celebrate the games, iii. 445. The Olympic treaſure plundered, 447. The temple reſtored to the Elians, 449.

Olympias, ſiſter of Arribbas king of Epirus, her firſt introduction to the notice of Philip of Macedon, iv. 35. Is married to him, 36. Birth of Alexander the Great, 37. Entertains reſentment at Philip's infidelity, 235. Is reconciled to him, 236.

Olympic games, the origin of, traced, i. 116. The immediate cauſes of their eſtabliſhment, 118. Nature of this inſtitution, and its important conſequences, 119. Inquiry into the phyſical effects of the games, 279.

Olynthus, ſtrength and power attained by that city, iii. 221. Brave reſiſtance made by, againſt the Spartans, 326. Is reduced by Polybiades, 329.

Revival of the Olynthian confederacy, which excites the jealouſy of Philip of Macedon, iv. 26. Is ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of Amphipolis, 27. The intrigues of Philip prevent an alliance with Athens, 28. Philip invades the territory of Olynthus, 79. He beſieges Olynthus, 88. The city taken, 98.

Onomarchus conducts the retreat of the Phocian army, after the death of Philomelus, iv. 49. Is choſen general, and renews the war, 52. Is defeated and killed by Philip of Macedon, 55.

Oracles, Grecian, the origin of, traced, i. 109. Cauſes which gave celebrity to that at Delphi, 112. Doubtful reſponſes of, at the time of the invaſion by Xerxes, 429.

Oratory, how corrupted in the age of Alexander the Great, iv. 403.

Orchomenus, the city of, deſtroyed by the Thebans, iii. 444.

Orpheus engages in the Argonautic expedition, i. 21.

Oſtraciſm, in the Athenian law, explained, i. 411. ii. 119. On what occaſion laid aſide, iii. 25. *Note.*

Othryades, the Spartan, ſtory of, i. 323.

Oxyartes defends the Sogdian fortreſs againſt Alexander the Great, iv. 327. Is reduced, 329.

P

Paches reduces Mytilené, ii, 242. His character, and unfortunate end, 251.

Paonia is overrun by Philip of Macedon, iv. 22.

Pagondas, a Theban general, defeats the Athenians at Delium, ii. 291.

Painting, ſtate of, in Greece, at the cloſe of the ſocial war of Athens, iii. 489. Great expreſſion in the Grecian performances, 494. Colouring, 425. Clair obſcur, 496.

State of, in the age of Alexander the Great, iv. 406. Declines ſoon after his death, 408.

Pamphylus, the painter of Sicyon, ſome account of, iii. 490.

Pancratium, in the ancient gymnaſtic exerciſes, explained, i. 221.

Parental affection, very ardent during the heroic ages of Greece, i. 77. Is the moſt ſimple and natural expanſion of ſelf-love, 78. Is equally unfelt in ſavage ſociety, and among a people ſunk in luxury, *ibid.*

Paris, ſon of Priam king of Troy, his character, i. 42. Seduces and carries off Helen, the wife of Menelaus, *ibid.*

Parmenio, and his ſon Philotas, remarks on their deaths, iv. 388. *Note.*

Paropamiſus, this chain of mountains paſſed by Alexander the Great, iv. 340.

Paros, the excellencies of the marble of that iſland, i. 388. *Note.* How relieved from the arms of Miltiades, 405.

Parrhaſius,

Parrhaſius, the Epheſian painter, his great power of expreſſion, iii. 494.

Partheniæ, origin of this claſs of inhabitants in Sparta, i. 179. Conſpire with the Helots to revenge their common ſufferings, *ibid.* Form a ſettlement at Tarentum, 180.

Paſſions, human, Plato's doctrine of, iii. 516.

Are diſeaſes of the mind, according to the Stoics, iv. 442. How analyſed by Epicurus, 445.

Patrocles, his principal excellence as a ſculptor, iii. 150.

——— ———, the Phliaſian, his ſpeech at Athens in favour of a defenſive alliance with Sparta, iii. 399. Aſſiſts at a renewal of it. 407.

Pauſanias commands the confederate Grecian troops ſent againſt Mardonius, i. 494. Diſſentions in his army, 499. Battle of Platæa, 505.

Takes Byzantium, ii. 56. His treacherous application to Xerxes, *ibid.* Is recalled, 59. His death, 62.

——— ——— oppoſes the operations of Lyſander againſt Thraſybulus, in the Piræus, iii. 121. The internal peace of Athens effected by his negociations, 122. His death, 273.

——— ——— uſurps the crown of Macedon, iv. 8. Is diſplaced by Iphicrates, 9

Peithias, of Corcyra, aſſaſſinated in the ſenate-houſe, ii. 254.

Pelaſgi and Hellenes, diſtinguiſhed, i. 5.

Pella, the capital of Macedon, its ſituation deſcribed, iii. 329.

Pelopidas, his birth and character, iii 333. Forms a conſpiracy to reſtore the democratical government of Thebes, 334. Which he effects, 340. Honours conferred on him by the Thebans, 353. Commands the Theban band at the battle of Leuctra, 368. Is joined with Epaminondas in the command of the Theban army ſent againſt the Spartans, 392. Is intimidated at the cenſure of his conduct, 405. Is ſent with an army to ſettle the affairs of Theſſaly, 416. Eſtabliſhes Perdiccas on the throne of Macedon, 417. Is treacherouſly ſeized by Alexander king of Theſſaly, 418. His interview with Queen Thebé, 420. Converſation between him and Alexander, 421. Is ſent to negociate at the court of Perſia, 423. His propoſals accepted, 425. The ratification of his treaty refuſed by the Grecian ſtates, 426 His expedition to Theſſaly, 441. Is killed at the battle of Cynoſcephalæ, 442. Honours paid to his memory, 443.

Peloponneſian war, the origin of, ii, 182. Authorities from which the hiſtory of this war is derived, 184. *Note.* Rupture between Corinth and Corcyra, *ibid.* Defeat of the Corinthian fleet by the Corcyreans, 186. The Peloponneſians alarmed by the hoſtilities of theſe republics, 188. Alliance between the Athenians and Corcyreans, 192. Revolt of Macedonia from the Athenian government, 198. Siege of Potidea, 199. The Spartans join in the confederacy againſt Athens, 205. A menacing embaſſy ſent to Athens, 207. Anſwer to, dictated by Pericles, 213. Invaſion of Attica, 219.

219. Death of Pericles, 231. Revolt of Leſbos, 234. Siege of Mytilené, 239. Tumults at Corcyra, 253. Naval fight between Alcidas and Nicoſtratus, 258. The Athenian troops weakened by the plague, 268. The continent and iſland harraſſed by earthquakes, 269. Athenian expedition to Ætolia, 270. Spartan expedition to Thrace, 295. Revolt at Acanthus and Amphipolis from the Athenians, 298. Peace concluded between Athens and Sparta, 304. Renewal of the war, 317. Battle of Mantinæa, 323. Expedition of Nicias to Sicily, 348. Siege of Syracuſe, 363. Miſerable retreat of the Athenians, 401.

General combination of the Grecian ſtates againſt Athens, iii 3. Circumſtances which favoured the vigorous exertions of the Athenians to oppoſe their enemies, 7. Battle of Miletus, 11. Revolt in the Athenian camp at Samos, againſt the tyranny of the four hundred, 24. Mutiny in the Peloponneſian camp, 31. Battle of Eretria, 33. The whole Peloponneſian fleet captured at Cyzicus by Alcibiades, 37. Character of Lyſander, commander of the Peloponneſian army, 52. Defeat and death of Callicratidas, 70. Battle of Ægos Potamos, 84. Athens taken by Lyſander, and diſmantled, 94.

Peloponneſus, firſt ſettled by Pelops, i. 8. How peopled by Grecian colonies, 13. The country deſcribed, 25. Is ſeized by the Heracleidæ, 96. State of, after the conqueſt of Meſſenia, 207.

Pelops, his ſettlement in Greece, i. 8.

Pentathlon, in the ancient gymnaſtic exerciſes, explained, i. 231.

Perdiccas, king of Macedon, prepares to repel the attacks of the Athenians, ii. 293. Refuſes the equitable propoſal of Aribæus, king of the Lynceſtæ, 296.

Pericles, flouriſhing ſtate of the polite arts in Athens during his time, ii. 45. Influence of his ambition and policy over the Athenian ſtates, 74. Extends the power of Athens, and excites the ill-will of the other Grecian ſtates, 93. His character, 95. His popularity, 96. Parallel between him and Cimon, 97. Completes the democratic government of Athens, 120. Encourages Ariſtophanes, and other licentious writers of the ancient comedy, 149. His attachment to Aſpaſia, 157. Becomes a liberal patron of the fine arts, 167. Summons deputies from all the Grecian republics to Athens, 180. Clamours excited againſt him, and his friends perſecuted, 208. His accuſation and defence, 210. Adviſes the Peloponneſian war, 213. He invades Megara, 227. His magnanimity on occaſion of the plague at Athens, 226. His unſucceſsful naval expedition to the Peloponneſus, 227. His reply to the clamours raiſed againſt him, and laſt advice, 228. His death and character, 230.

Perſia, riſe of the power of that kingdom, i. 308. Deſcription of the country and its inhabitants, 310. The cauſes of the Perſian grandeur traced, 312. Reduces the ſtates of Lower Aſia, 337. Aſſyria conquered, 344. Egypt conquered, 344. Religion of the

the Perſians, 349. Their manners, 351. Vigorous meaſures of Darius Hyſtaſpis to reduce the Ionians, 372. Three diſtinct periods into which the invaſion of Greece may be divided, 384. The unfortunate expedition of Mardonius, 385. Invaſion of Attica by Datis and Artaphernes, 386. Deſcription of their military diſcipline, 395. Battle of Marathon, 397. Preparations of Xerxes for another invaſion of Greece, 417. Amazing number of his forces, with the rude method of muſtering them 418. Battle of Thermopylæ, 447. Diſaſters attending the Perſian fleet on the coaſt of Theſſaly, 451. Firſt ſea-fight at Artemiſium, 455. The ſecond, 457. Battle of Salamis, 475. Deciſive battle of Mycalé, 511. See *Mardonius*.

Character of Darius Nothus, and the firſt acts of his reign, iii. 4. Artaxerxes and Cyrus diſpute the ſucceſſion, 177. Character of Cyrus contraſted with that of the Perſian nobles, 180. Expedition of Cyrus into Upper Aſia, 185. Battle of Cunaxa, 195.

State of the Perſian empire, at the æra of Alexander's eaſtern expedition, iv. 254. Deliberations of the Perſian ſatraps, 255. Battle of the Granicus. 258 Conſequences of that battle, 264. Battle of Iſſus, 284. Battle of Arbela, 314. Death of Darius, 322 The government of Perſia intruſted to Peuceſtas, 369.

Perfection, how it naturally tends to degeneracy, iv. 403.

Perinthus, obſtinate defence of that city againſt Philip of Macedon, iv. 178.

Peripatetics, the appellation of, from whence derived, iv. 417. Their tenets, 419.

Perſepolis, the royal palace of, burnt by Alexander the Great, iv. 318.

Peuceſtas made governor of Perſia by Alexander the Great, iv. 369.

Phalanx, Grecian, the military arrangement of, deſcribed, i. 394. Not inſtituted by Philip king of Macedon, iv. 21.

Phalaris, tyrant of Agrigentum, his hiſtory, ii. 28. *Note*. Doubts reſpecting his famous brazen bull, and other current relations of his cruelty, *idem, ibid.*

Phaleucus, commander of the Athenian mercenaries, diſobeys orders, and ſeizes Nicæa, iv. 126. The diſaſters of him and his followers, 135.

Pharax, the vigilant commander of the Grecian fleet, removed by Ageſilaus in favour of Piſander, iii. 265.

Pharnabazus is recommanded by Conon to command the Perſian fleet, iii. 283. Battle of Cnidus, 284. Obtains the daughter of Artaxerxes in marriage, 293.

Pharſalus, wiſe adminiſtration of Polydamus there, iii. 378. Jaſon declared captain general of this city, and of all Theſſaly, 380.

Phaſelis, the city of, reduced by Cimon the Grecian commander, ii. 70.

Phayllus renews the ſacred war, after the deaths of his brothers Philomelus and Onomarcus, iv. 58.
Pheræ, great authority of Jaſon there, iii. 377. See *Jaſon*, and *Alexander*.
Phidias, deſcription of his ſtatue of Jupiter at Olympia, ii. 87. Is patroniſed by Pericle 166. His moſt diſtinguiſhed performances, 170. His ſtatue of Minerva, 172. His accuſation and baniſhment, 209
His principal ſchools, iii. 150.
Philip, afterwards king of Macedon, is carried as a hoſtage to Thebes by Pelopida iv. 9. His education, and early tranſactions, 12. His return to Macedon, 11, 13. Is declared king of Macedon, 15. His kind treatment of his priſoners, 17. His treaty with the Athenians, 18. His military inſtitutions, 19. He conquers Peonia, 22. His motives for attacking the Illyrians, 23. Defeats and kills Bardyllis, 24. His motives for attacking Amphipolis, 75. His intrigues at Athens and Olynthus, 28. Beſieges Amphipolis, 30. Takes, and annexes this city to Macedon, 31. Purſues his conqueſts in Thrace, 32. Takes poſſeſſion of the gold mines at Crenidæ, afterwards called Philippi, 33. His advantageous ſettlement of the affairs of Theſſaly, 35. His marriage with Olympias, 36. Birth of his ſon Alexander, 37. His proſperity, 40. His impenetrable policy, 41. His military operations in Thrace, where he loſes an eye, 51. Defeats Lycophron and Onomarchus, 54. He is oppoſed at the ſtraits of Thermopylæ by the Athenians, 61. Diſſembles his ambition under an attention to domeſtic concerns, 69 His vices, 70. His intrigues at Eubœa, 75. Invades the Olynthian territory, 79. Beſieges Olynthus, 88. Takes that city, 98. Celebrates the feſtival of the muſes at Dium, 101. His naval depredations on Attica, 103. He ſeizes Eubœa, 104. His addreſs in ſcattering partiſans among the Athenians, 106 His rapid ſucceſſes in Greece, 112. His reception and treatment of the Athenian ambaſſadors, 113. His embaſſy to Athens, 119. Receives a third embaſſy from Athens, 121. His reply to the Theban ambaſſadors, 127. Corrupts and deludes the Athenian ambaſſadors, 132 His flattering letter to the Athenians, 130. Is veſted with the cuſtody of the temple of Delphi by the Amphictyonic council, 137. His ſtern letter to the Athenians, 140. Honours decreed to him by the Amphictyonic council, 143. Evacuates Greece, 146. His expedition to Illyria, 148. And to Theſſaly, 149. Undertakes to protect the Peloponneſians againſt the poſſeſſions of Sparta, 152. Attacks the Spartan territories, 161 Settles the affairs of Peloponneſus, 162 His moderation at receiving inſults at Corinth, 164. Extends the bounds of Elis, and ſeizes the Haloneſus, *ibid.* His letter to the Athenians, 167. Siege of Perinthus, 178. Defeats and kills Diopeithes 181. Reſtores the convoy of proviſions ſeized by

by Amyntas, 183. Attempts to ſurpriſe Byzantium, 185. Is invited to the aſſiſtance of Atheas, king of Scythia, 191. His expedition to chaſtiſe the perfidy of Atheas, 193. His life ſaved by his ſon Alexander, 196. He is appointed general of the Amphictyons, 197. A review of his difficulties at this time, 198 Employs Antiphon to burn the Athenian docks, 200. Is applied to by the Amphictyons to puniſh the Amphiſſeans, 209. Takes the city of Amphiſſa, 210 Seizes Elatæa, 212. Encamps his army in the plain of Cheronæa, 218. Defeats the confederated Greeks, 219 His levity on viewing the field of battle, 222 His moderate uſe of victory, 223. Cauſes of his different treatment of Athens and Thebes, 224. Nature and extent of his authority in Greece, 232. Is appointed general of the Grecian confederacy againſt Perſia, 233. Quarrels with his queen and his ſon Alexander, 235 Is aſſaſſinated, 237. His character, *ib*

Philip, the Acarnanian, phyſician to Alexander the Great, Alexander's confidence in him, though accuſed of treachery, iv. 280

Philippopolis founded by Philip of Macedon, iv 147.

Philocles, aſſociate of Conon in the command of the Athenian fleet, his character, iii. 79. Inſtance of his preſumption and cruelty, 84 Is taken priſoner by Lyſander, 86. And put to death, 87

Philomelus, the Phocian, inſtigates his countrymen to withſtand the decree of the Amphictyonic council, iv 44. Seizes the temple of Delphi, 46. Employs the ſacred treaſure in raiſing mercenaries, 47. His defeat, and deſperate end, 49

Philoſophy, riſe and decline of, at Athens, ii. 127

State of, at the cloſe of the ſocial war of Athens, iii. 465.

State of, in the age of Alexander the Great, iv 412 Tenets of the Peripatetics, 419 Eſtimate of Ariſtotle's philoſophy, 430. Tenets of the Stoics, 433. Philoſophy of Epicurus, 445. That of Pyrrho, 449.

Phlius, the ſmall republic of, takes arms at the renewal of the Peloponneſian war, ii. 318

Is ſubjected by the Spartans, iii. 319 Extraordinary fidelity of that republic to Sparta, 436

Phocæa, a city of Ionia, beſieged by Harpagus the Perſian general, i 338. Is deſerted by the inhabitants, 339. Who remove to Corſica, 340

Phocians incur the cenſure of the Amphictyonic council, iv 42 They reſolve to withſtand the decree, 44. They ſeize the temple of Delphi, 46. Are defeated by the Thebans and their allies, 48. The war renewed by Onomarchus, 52. Who is defeated and killed, 54. The Phocians intimidated, condemn the plunderers of the treaſure of Delphi, 125. Are again defeated by the Thebans, 126 Are deluded into ſecurity by Philip, 133. Cruel decree of the Amphictyonic council againſt them, 136. Which is executed by Philip, 137. The fugitives received by the Athenians, 140. Philippopolis and Cabyla ſettled with Phocian captives by Philip, 147.

Phocion, the motives of his conduct in reference to Philip of Macedon, iv. 62 Defeats the Macedonians and Eubœans, 78. Expels the Macedonians from Eubœa, 177. Arrives at Byzantium with a fleet, and saves the Thracian cities, 186. Is veſted with the ſupreme command, after the defeat at Chæronæa, 227.

Phœbidas, the Spartan general, ſeizes the citadel of Thebes, iii. 331. Is protected by Ageſilaus, 332. His death, 349

Phœnicians, a colony of, under Cadmus, ſettled at Thebes, i. 8. Inſtructed the Greeks in navigation and commerce, 16

Phrygia, invaſion of, by Ageſilaus, iii. 258. Character of the Phrygians, 261.

Phrynicus preſerves the Athenian fleet from the ſuperior fleet of the Peloponneſians, iii. 12. Counteracts the intrigues of Alcibiades, 20. He aſſiſts in overturning the democracy, 24 His death, 31

Phrynon, the Athenian, his embaſſy to Philip of Macedon, iv. 107. Is ſent again, 110

Phyllidas, the Theban, his character, iii. 334. Engages in the conſpiracy of Pelopidas, *ibid.*

Pindar, the great Lyric poet, memoirs of, and his character, i 272. His works, 275. His characteriſtic excellence, 277

His houſe and family ſpared by Alexander at the demolition of Thebes, iv. 250

Piræus, the harbour of Athens, built and fortified by Themiſtocles, ii. 53.

Piſa, cauſe of the war between that city and Elis, and the deſtruction of the former, ii. 86.

Piſander, his conſpiracy againſt the democratical government of Athens, iii. 21. Propoſes the government of the four hundred, 25. Is defeated at ſea, and killed by Conon, 284.

Piſiſtratus, how he acquired the ſupreme authority of Athens, and his character, i 362. ii. 116.

Piſo, one of the thirty tyrants of Athens, his rapacious treatment of Lyſias, iii 103

Pittacus, the lawgiver of Mitilené, ii. 235.

Plague at Athens, account of, ii 223

Plataea, battle of, between Pauſanias and Mardonius, i. 504.

The city of, ſurpriſed by the Thebans, ii 214. The city recovered by a ready expedient of the inhabitants, 215. Is reduced by the Spartans, 233.

Is deſtroyed by the Spartans, and the inhabitants driven into exile, iii 351.

Plato, his birth and education, iii 502. Character of his works, *ibid Note* His travels, and ſettlement in the Academy, 504. General character of his philoſophy, 505. Difficulty of explaining and abridging his doctrines, 506. His great views, 507. His theology, *ibid.* His doctrine of ideas, 509. His morals, 511. His account of the origin of human knowledge, 513 Of the powers of perception and intellect, 515. Of the paſſions, 516.

516. Of virtue, 517. Was the firſt philoſopher who eſtabliſhed, on conclusive arguments, the doctrine of a future ſtate, 520. His republic, 521. His genius and character, *ibid.* Compared with Socrates, 522

Pleaſure and pain, how analyſed by Epicurus, iv. 445.

Pliny, his advice to Maximus, when appointed the Roman governor of Greece, ii. 103 *Note*

Remarks on his accounts of the Grecian artiſts, iii. 489. *Note.* 491. *Note.* 494. *Note* 497. *Note.*

Plutarch, his account of the operation of the laws of Lycurgus at Sparta, i. 133.

His character of Antiphon, iii 19 *Note.*

Plynteria, the anniverſary of, how obſerved at Athens, iii. 50.

Poetry, and muſic, early connected, i 236. Wonderful power of the Grecian muſic, 248. Circumſtances that improved the Grecian poetry, 253. Satire, how introduced, 257 Elegy, 278. The ode, 275. Influence of the poetical conteſts at the public games, 285

State of, in the age of Alexander the Great, iv, 403.

Polemarchus, the brother of Lyſias, poiſoned by the thirty tyrants of Athens, iii 104

Pollis, the Spartan admiral, defeated by the Athenians near Naxos, iii 349.

Polybiades, the Spartan general, reduces the City of Olynthus, iii. 329.

Polybius, his erroneous repreſentation of the Athenian hiſtory, ii. 108 *Note.*

Polycharet, the Meſſenian, how defrauded by Euephnus the Lacedæmonian, i. 159. Fatal conſequences of this tranſaction, 161.

Polycletus, his great ſkill in ſtatuary, iii 488

Polydamas, his wiſe adminiſtration in Pharſalus, iii 378. Conference between him and Jaſon of Pheræ, *ibid.* Procures for Jaſon the ſupreme command of Theſſaly, 380.

Population, vanity perhaps the greateſt enemy to, ii. 13.

Porus, king, diſputes the paſſage of Alexander the Great over the Hydaſpes, iv. 347 His ſon defeated and killed, 351. He is defeated, 353. Is re-inſtated by Alexander, 355. Obtains all Alexander's Indian acquiſitions, 362.

Potidæa, beſieged by the Athenians, and aſſiſted by the Corinthians, ii 199 Is reduced, 233.

Power, always dangerous to liberty, unleſs counteracted by wiſe checks, iii. 469 Judiciary, in the Grecian republics, how abuſed, 470.

Praxiteles, his great ſkill in ſtatuary, iii. 488. His two ſtatues of Venus, *ibid.*

Priam, king of Troy, his unfortunate hiſtory, i. 40.

Property, judicial deciſions of, during the heroic ages of Greece, i. 70

Profopis, the Grecian army beſieged there by Megabazus, the Perſian general, ii 78. The Grecians capitulate, *ibid.*

Protogenes, the painter, patroniſed by Apelles, iv 408.

Proverbs, current precepts of moral inſtruction, before morality was reduced to a ſyſtem, ii 129.

Pſammenitus, king of Egypt, reduced by Cambyſes, king of Perſia, i 346.

Pſyttalea, the iſland of, occupied by the flower of the Perſian infantry previous to the battle of Salamis, i 473 Where they are cut to pieces by the Greeks, 478.

Pylæ, fortified by Demoſthenes, ii 275. Attack of, by the Spartans, 276.

Pyrgoteles, his eminence as an engraver on gems, iv. 406.

Pyrrho, account of his philoſophy, iv 449

Pythagoras, his hiſtory, ii 19 Cauſe of the fabulous relations of his travels, 20 His acquiſitions in Egypt, 22. His definition of a philoſopher, 23 Is highly honoured in Italy for his talents and learning, 25. His manner of life, *ibid* Effects a reformation in the manners of the citizens of Crotona, 26 Forms his diſciples into an exclusive ſociety ſecured by ſymbolical teſts, 27. His politics, 28. His morality, 30. His ſyſtem of education, 31 His rules for the conduct of his diſciples, 32 Conformity of theſe with the inſtitutions of Lycurgus, 33. Origin of the fictions concerning him, 34. His death, 36. His diſciples in Magna Græcia deſtroyed, 41

Pythia, the Prieſteſs of Apollo at Delphi, her mode of delivering the oracles there, i 114.

Pythian games, occaſion of their inſtitution, and deſcription of, i. 226

Python of Byzantium, his character and embaſſy from Philip of Macedon to Athens, iv 166.

R

Rennell, major, aſcertains the place where Alexander the Great croſſed the Indus, iv 346 *Note*. His account of the eaſtern boundary of Alexander's conqueſts, 360 *Note*

Reſignation, the Stoical doctrine of, iv. 440

Rhapſodiſts of the Greeks, their high authority and influence on ſociety, i. 253.

Rhetra eſtabliſhed by Greeks, i 178 204.

Rhythm of ancient muſic, how regulated, i 244.

Romans, their religion mere plagiariſm from that of the Greeks, i, 63. *Note*.

Send deputies to Athens, to obtain a copy of Solon's laws, ii. 103 *Note*. Difference between the Roman and Athenian government, 113. *Note*.

Conquer the weſtern diviſion of Alexander's empire, iv 390.

Rouſſeau, Jean Jaques, from whence he derived the rational and practical parts of his ſyſtem of education, ii 32 *Note.*

Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes, taken priſoner by Alexander the Great, and married by him, iv 330.

S

Sacred band of Thebans, account of, iii. 363 Battle of Leuctra, 368.

——— war, the origin and principal events of, i. 218. Sacred war againſt the Phocians, a hiſtory of, iv. 44.

Sages, the ſeven peculiarly diſtinguiſhed among the Greek philoſophers, i 1.

———, a Spartan general, goes to the relief of Mitylene, beſieged by the Athenians, ii 240. Is put to death by the Athenians, 250.

Salamis, in a engagement off that iſland between the Greeians and Perſians, i 475

Samos, why favoured by the Perſians after the reduction of Miletus, and deſolation of Ionia, i 381

Revolt of the Athenian troops there, againſt the tyranny of the four hundred, iii 27 Is reduced by Lyſander, 96.

Sardis, a canal cut through the iſthmus of, by Xerxes, i 421

Sandanis, his prudent advice to Cræſus king of Lydia, i 318.

Sangala beſieged and taken by Alexander the Great, iv. 358

Sardanapalus, king of Aſſyria, his tomb deſcribed, iv. 280

Sardis, battle of, between Cyrus and Cræſus, i. 321 The city taken by Cyrus, 326. Is retaken and deſtroyed by the Athenians, 370 But inſtantly recovered, *ibid*

Satire in poetry, the origin of, accounted for, i. 257.

Satyrus the player, ſignal inſtance of his friendſhip for Apollophanes, iv. 102. *Note.*

Sciences, ſtate of, i 86. ii. 292. iii. 505. iv. 409.

Scione, the city of, reduced by the Athenians, and the inhabitants maſſacred, ii 326.

Sculpture, of the Grecian artiſts, the moſt celebrated monuments of, pointed out, ii 170 Characteriſtic excellence of, 173 The expreſſion of compared with the literary compoſitions of their poets and orators, 174

Scytale, in the Spartan laws, explained, ii. 60.

Seuthes, a Thracian adventurer, takes the troops under Xenophon into his ſervice, iii 235. Conducts them after a feaſt to inſtant action 237. Recovers his hereditary dominions by their aſſiſtance, 238. His ingratitude, 239.

Sicily, coloniſation of, by Grecians, ii. 10 Revolutions in that iſland, 334. A general congreſs of the ſtates of, 338. Deſtruction of Leontium, *ibid.* Siege of Syracuſe, 363. Miſerable retreat of the Athenians, 401.

How withdrawn from the ſphere of Grecian politics, iii. 162 Is invaded by the Carthaginians, 163. Their exceſſive cruelties towards the inhabitants, 165. Characters of the two Dionyſiuſes, 171. The iſland reduced to the condition of a Roman province, 176.

Sicinus, his character, and the important enterpriſe he was intruſted with by Themiſtocles, i. 473. His ſecond commiſſion to Xerxes 482.

Sicyon, the government of, uſurped by Euphron, iii 431 A ſchool of painting formed there by Eupompus, 490

Sinope, its ſituation, and by whom built, iii 224.

Sixty, account of the profligate club of, at Athens, iv 227.

Social war of Athens, hiſtory of, iii. 480.

Society, the narrow ſphere of human faculties and purſuits in the infancy of, i. 1. An idea of property in land, one of the moſt important ſteps in the progreſs of, 12. Political, during the heroic ages of Greece, a review of, 66. The reciprocal obligations of, unfolded by utility, 71

Socrates detects the arts of the Sophiſts, ii 135 His education and character, 136. His philoſophy, 138. Is aſſiſted by the tragic poets, 139. His views counteracted by the writers of the old comedy, 143 Is ſeduced by the arts of Aſpaſia, 157. Attachment between him and Alcibiades, 310 Condemns the expedition to Sicily, 349.

Oppoſes the irregular condemnation of the admirals accuſed for miſconduct at Arginuſſæ, iii. 78 The principal cauſes of his proſecution, 128. The artifices of his accuſers, 129. His defence 131. Is condemned, 133. He refuſes to eſcape from priſon, 137. His converſation with his friends on the laſt day of his life, 139. His declared motive for writing a hymn to Apollo, 141 His opinion of ſuicide, and of the immortality of the ſoul, *ibid.* Is warned to die, 144. His death, 145 The Athenians repent, and honour his memory, 146. His principal diſciples and followers, 147. Philoſophers who miſrepreſented his tenets, 148.

Solon of Athens reſtores and improves the inſtitutions of Theſeus, i. 213. Animates the Amphictyonic council to revenge the violation of the temple at Delphi, 218. Adviſes the conſecration of the Cirrhean plain to fulfil the oracle, 224. His converſation with Crœſus, king of Lydia, 305. His ſummary of human life, 306

Relieves the Athenians from the miſery and confuſion occaſioned by the laws of Draco, ii. 106. His exalted character, *ibid* His regulations concerning property, 108. New models the government, *ibid.* His inſtitutions ſuited to the times, 109 His diviſion of the citizens, 110. The ſenate, 111. The nine archons, 112. The areopagus, 113. Happy tendency and extenſive ſcope of his laws, *ibid.* His ſyſtem of educati

Sofocles, the Corinthian deputy at Sparta, his ſpeech againſt the propoſal for reſtoring Hippias to the government of Athens, i. 367

Sophiſts of Greece, a hiſtory of, ii. 133

Sparta, occaſion of Lycurgus being driven from thence, i. 123. The principal object of Lycurgus's legiſlation, 127. His diſtribution of political power, 124. Inſtitution of the ephori, and nature of their office, 130. Laws concerning property, 131. The uſe of iron money introduced, 133. Effects of theſe inſtitutions, *ibid.* Review of Spartan manners, 135. Their military character and inſtitutions, 137 The women, 141. Education of children, 143. Peculiar diſcipline of the youth, 144. Paternal authority, 147 Coincidence of the inſtitutions of Lycurgus with thoſe of the heroic ages, 148. Cauſes which undermined the ſobriety of Sparta, 150. Expedient of Lycurgus to ſecure the obſervance of his laws, 152 Deſcription of Laconia, 155. The people, 156. How Sparta, the capital, gained the aſcendency over the other cities in Laconia, 157 Cauſes of the war with Meſſenia, 158. The Spartans ſeize Amphea, 162. And ravage the country, 164. Indeciſive battle with the Meſſenians, 170 End of the firſt Meſſenian war, 176. Origin of the claſs of inhabitants termed Partheniæ, 179 Conſpiracy of the Partheniæ with the Helots, *ibid* Revolt of the Meſſenians, 181. Battle of Dera, 182 The Spartans commanded by the oracle to aſk a general from Athens, and receive the poet Tyrtæus, 184. Tyrtæus animates them to purſue the war, 88. End of the ſecond Meſſenian war, by the reduction of Ithra, 200 Inſolent oppreſſion of the Meſſenians, 212. Alliance with Croeſus, king of Lydia, 315 State of, at the time of the battle of Sardis, 322. Defeat of the Argives, 323. Deputies ſent to obſerve the motions of Cyrus, 336 The overtures of Ariſtagoras to involve the Spartans in a war with the Perſians, rejected, 358. The Spartans endeavour to form a confederacy to check the power of the Athenians, 365. Domeſtic diſſenſions between Cleomenes and Demaratus, 415 The ſtraits of Thermopylæ defended by King Leonidas, 433 Sperthies and Bulis devote themſelves for their country, 435 The atonement refuſed by Xerxes, who ſends deputies to treat with the Spartans, 436. Memorable battle of Thermopylæ, 447. Addreſs of the Spartan ambaſſadors to the Athenians in the preſence of Mardonius 488. They deſert the Athenians, and attend ſolely to their own ſecurity, 491.

Remonſtrate with the Athenians on the fortifying of their city, ii. 49. Artful embaſſy of Themiſtocles to Sparta, 50. Treachery of Pauſanias, 56 The city of Sparta deſtroyed by an earthquake, 84. Revolt of the Helots and Meſſenians, *ibid* The Peloponneſians endeavour to engage the Spartans to aſſiſt them againſt the Athenians, 200. Pacific council of king Archidamus,

mus, 204 The Spartans engage in the Peloponnesian war, 205. Operations of the Spartan fleet, 251 The blocking up of their troops in Spacteria reduces the Spartans to solicit peace at Athens, 278 Their overtures rejected, 280. They apply again, 285. They assist the revolt of Macedonia, 293. Base treatment of the Helots, 294 Truce concluded with Athens, 300 Peace concluded with Athens, 304 Mutual discontents generated between Sparta and Athens, 315 Renewal of the war, 317. Battle of Mantinæa, 323.

Preparations for taking advantage of the Athenian misfortunes, iii. 6 Intrigue of Alcibiades with Timea, 13. Character of Lysander, now made commander of the Peloponnesian forces, 52. Battle of Ægos Potamos, 84. The coasts and islands of Asia and Europe reduced by Lysander, 88 The city of Athens taken by Lysander, 94. Rapacity and cruelty of the Spartan government, 96 The Spartans invade Elis, 160. Subdue the Eleans, 161. Assist Cyrus in asserting his pretensions to the throne of Persia, 183 Incur the resentment of Artaxerxes by this measure, 241. Thimbron sent to defend the Æolian cities Dercyllidas sent to supersede him 244. Death of Agis and disputed succession to the crown, 249. Agesilaus declared successor, 250. Cinadon's conspiracy, *ibid.* A jealousy of the Spartan power excited in the several Grecian states, by the policy of Tithraustes, 267. The Spartans take arms against the Thebans, 270. A league formed against Sparta, which occasions Agesilaus to be recalled from the east, 275 Pisander defeated by sea, at Cnidus, 284 Solicit peace with Persia on the rebuilding the walls of Athens, 295. The Spartans accept the terms dictated by Artaxerxes, 305 By what motives they were influenced in this transaction, 310 Benefits derived from this peace, 311. Their ambitious views on this occasion, 313. Their haughty message to the Mantinæans, 316 Hard conditions imposed on the inhabitants when the town was reduced by Agesipolis, 318. The Spartans assume a regulating power over the republic of Phlius, 319. Application of the towns Acanthus and Apollonia against the Olynthian confederacy, 321 War commenced in Macedon, 325. Death of Agesipolis, 327 Accession of Cleombrotus, 328. The citadel of Thebes seized by Phœbidas, 331. War in Bœotia, 343 Losses by sea, 349. A congress of the Grecian states held at Sparta, 352 Debate between Agesilaus and Epaminondas, 356. Reflections on this altercation, 358. Cleombrotus assembles the Spartan forces on the plain of Leuctra, 364. Their troops defeated there by Epaminondas, 368 Singular behaviour of the Spartans on this event, 374. They in vain attempt to recover their authority in Arcadia, 391 Laconia invaded by the Thebans, 393. General consternation at the devastation of the country, 394. A defensive alliance negociated at Athens, 398. This alliance extended and confirmed

confirmed, 406. Treaties concluded with Dionyſius, tyrant of Sicily; and Artaxerxes, king of Perſia, 407. They take the field againſt the Arcadians, 411. Battle of Midea, 412. The Spartan allies ſolicit permiſſion to negociate peace with Thebes for themſelves, 435. Attempt of Epaminondas to ſurpriſe the city of Sparta, 454.

The Spartans incur the reſentment of the Amphictyonic council, iv. 43. They claim the ſuperintendance of the temple at Delphi, 126. Philip of Macedon required to check their inſolence by the Amphictyonic council, 152. They diſpute the aſſiſtance of the Athenians, 153. The Spartans threatened by Philip, 161. The Spartans take arms againſt him during the abſence of Alexander, but are reduced by Antipater, 333.

Sparta, Mr. a miſtake of, in tranſlating Xenophon, corrected, vi. 190 *Note*

Sphacteria, a body of Spartan forces blocked up there by the Athenians, ii. 27 ——— finally defended, 280 How reduced,

Sphodrias, the Spartan general, how induced to attempt the Piræus of Athens, iii. 345 Flies, and is diſgraced, 346

Spitamenes betrays Beſſus the murderer of Darius, iv. 324 Oppoſes Alexander, 325 His death, 327

Sporades, derivation of the name of thoſe iſlands, ii. 284.

Stadium in the Grecian public games, explained, i. 128.

Stature, ſtate of, at the cloſe of the ſocial war of Athens, iii. 487.

Sthenelaidas, one of the Spartan ephori, fires up the Spartans to join in the Peloponneſian war againſt Athens, ii. 205

Stoicism, the name of, whence derived, iii. 139 *Note* iv. 417. Tenets of, 433.

——— obſervation on the firſt hiſtorian *Note*

———, refutes the report of Bacchus's expedition to India, iv. 344 *Note*

Superſtition, its cauſes and operation in Greece, i. 60

Sybaris, the city of by whom founded, and its ſituation, ii. 11. Conquered by Milo of Crotona, 35

Syennesis, governor of Cilicia, ſecures himſelf from the arms of Cyrus by the means of his wife Epyaxa, iii. 187

Scyllias of Scione diſcovers the Perſian ſtratagems to the commander of the Grecian fleet at Artemiſium, i. 455

Syracuſe founded by the Corinthians, ii. 10. Reign of Gelon, 36. Reign of Hieron, 335. Expulſion of Thraſybulus, and eſtabliſhment of a democracy, 336 The tyranny of this city attracts the whole iſland, 338. The city defended, 363 Supplications of the citizens on the approach of the Athenian fleet, 364. The ſtratagem of Nicias to ſeize the city, 365 The ſcheme defeated, 367 Nicias gains a victory over them, 369. Diſtreſs and relief of the city, 376. The beſiegers defeated in a general

general engagement, 387. They are defeated again, 397. Miserable retreat of the Athenians, 401.

Banishment of Hermocrates, iii 39. Revolutions of Syracuse, 171. Is taken by Marcellus the Roman general, 176

T

Tarentum settled by Greeks, i 178, 180.

Taochians, their desperate opposition to the Greeks under Xenophon and Chemsophus, iii 218.

Tarsus, on what occasion plundered by the Grecian troops of Cyrus, iii. 188

Taurus, mount, a description of, iv 340.

Taxiles, an Indian prince, mutual generosity between him and Alexander the Great, iv. 346.

Tegea, seizure of the Elian deputies there by the Arcadians, who partook of the plunder of Olympia, iii. 450. Is chosen by Epaminondas as a place of rendezvous for his troops, 453.

Tegeans, their contest with the Athenians in the confederate army, i. 500

Teians, desert their country, when attacked by the Persians, i. 341.

Teleutias, brother of Agesilaus, invests the city of Olynthus, iii. 325, is killed, 327

Tellus, the Athenian, why pronounced a happy man by Solon, i. 305.

Tempe, the valley of, described, i. 427. Is occupied by Themistocles to stem the progress of Xerxes, 428. For what reason abandoned, 429

Teribazus, his treacherous behaviour to the Greeks in their retreat through Armenia, iii. 217. His negociations with Antalcidas, 298.

Terpander of Lesbos, his history, i. 268.

Thales, the poet, disposes the Spartans to receive the laws of Lycurgus, i 128

——, the Milesian, his scientifical discoveries, ii. 129. His school and successors, 130.

Thasos, some account of the colony settled there, i 260

Theatre, Grecian, circumstances which rendered it extremely liable to abuse, iii. 473.

Thebé, queen of Thessaly, her interview with Pelopidas during his confinement, iii. 420.

Thebes, founded by Cadmus, i. 8. Origin of the war of, 25.

Revolt of the inferior cities of Bœotia from, ii. 91. Thebans surprise the city of Plateæa, 214. The invaders destroyed, 216.

How engaged in a war with Sparta, iii. 270. Battle of Coronæa, 285 The Thebans compelled to agree to the terms of peace dictated by Artaxerxes, 307. The citadel of, betrayed to Phœbidas the Spartan, 329. Conspiracy of the Theban exiles,

333. Circumſtances attending its execution, 335 The heads of the ariſtocratic party killed, 337. The democratic government reſtored, 340 The citadel recovered from the Spartans, 341 Scheme of the Thebans to produce a rupture between Athens and Sparta, 344. Their cruel treatment of the Bœotian cities, 351. Epaminondas ſent as deputy to the Grecian congreſs at Sparta, 353. Reflections on his conduct there, 358. Account of the ſacred band, 363. Battle of Leuctra, 367. Invaſion of Laconia, 393. A neutrality granted to the Spartan allies at their ſolicitation, 440. Battle of Cynoſcephalæ, 442. The Thebans deſtroy the city Orchomenus, 444. Battle of Mantinæa, 459

Engage in the ſacred war againſt Phocis, iv. 48 Their embaſſy to Philip of Macedon, 127 Their tyranny over the Bœotians, 142. The Thebans perſuaded by Demoſthenes to unite with the Athenians againſt Philip, 217. Battle of Cheronæa, 219. Why the Thebans were harſhly treated by Philip, 224. Demolition of Thebes by Alexander the Great, 278

Themiſtocles, his character and pretenſions to the command of the Athenian forces, compared with thoſe of Ariſtides, i. 407. Their rivalſhip, 409. Deſtroys the fleets of Ægina and Corcyra, 413. Exhorts his countrymen to keep up their military ſtrength by land and by ſea, 414. Endeavours to ſtem the inundation of Xerxes at the vale of Tempe, 429 Adviſes the Athenians to truſt to their fleet, in obedience to the oracle, 430 His expedient to detach the Ionians from the Perſians, 460. His prudent advice to the Grecian fleet, 470. His ſtratagem to draw Xerxes to a naval engagement before the Grecian fleet ſeparated, 473. Is joined by his old rival Ariſtides, 474. Battle of Salamis, 475 His ſcheme to accelerate the flight of Xerxes, 482. Honours conferred on him, and his conduct after his victory, 485.

Perſuades the Athenians to fortify rather than adorn their city, ii 49. His embaſſy to Sparta, 50. Builds the Piræus, 53. Is accuſed by the Spartans as an accomplice with Pauſanias, 64. His baniſhment and death, 65.

Theocles, the Meſſenian diviner, devotes himſelf to death at Eira, to intimidate the beſiegers, i. 199.

Theogony in poetry, explained, i 253 *Note*

Theopompus, his character of the aſſociates of Philip of Macedon, iv. 71. *Note*.

Theramenes reſtores the democracy at Athens, iii. 33. His embaſſy to Sparta, on the ſiege of Athens by Lyſander, 91. As one of the thirty tyrants of Athens endeavours to mitigate the odious oppreſſions of his colleagues, 105. Is accuſed by Critias, 107. His defence, 108 Is violently dragged to death, 110.

Thermopylæ the ſtraits of, deſcribed, i. 431. Are guarded by the Greeks to ſtem the progreſs of Xerxes, *ibid.* An attack of the Perſians repulſed, 440 Memorable battle of, 447. The Thebans

bans desert to the Perſians, 448. Monuments erected in memory of this battle, 449.

Philip of Macedon ſtopped there by the Athenians, iv. 60 Seized by Philip, 111

Theſeus, his voyage to Crete, and treatment by Minos, i. 30. Introduces the Cretan inſtitutions into Attica, 32

Theſſalus impeaches Alcibiades of impiety, ii. 358

Theſſaly, great part of, reduced under the dominion of Jaſon of Pheræ, iii 377 Jaſon aſſaſſinated, 385. Revolutions of this country after the death of Jaſon, 414 The Theſſalians apply to Thebes for protection againſt their king Alexander, 441 Battle of Cynoſcephalæ, 442.

The affairs of that country ſettled by Philip, king of Macedon, iv 34. Why Philip ſelected his friends from among the Theſſalians, 71 Is reduced by Philip to a Macedonian province, 150.

Thimbron is ſent from Sparta to aſſiſt the Æolian cities againſt Tiſſaphernes, iii. 243 Is reinforced by the Greek troops under Xenophon, *ibid.* His repulſe at Larriſſa occaſions his recal, 244

Thrace, the coaſt of, reduced by Cimon the Grecian commander, ii. 68 Expedition of Braſidas the Spartan general to, 205

The commotions there ſettled, and the country reduced to a Macedonian province, by Philip, iv. 165

Thraſylaus, king of Syracuſe, his character and expulſion from Sicily, ii. 336.

————, tyrant of Miletus, his expedient to diſpoſe Alyattes king of Lydia to peace, i 209

———— of Athens, heads an inſurrection in the camp at Samos againſt the abettors of the tyranny of the four hundred, iii 27 Conducts Alcibiades to the camp, 28 Gains a naval victory over the Peloponneſians, 34. He impeaches Alcibiades in the Athenian aſſembly, 60 His character, 113. Seizes Phyle, and defeats the thirty tyrants, 114 Surpriſes the Piræus, 116 Gives the tyrants another defeat, 117. His proclamation to the vanquiſhed fugitives, 118 Is inveſted in the Piræus by Lyſander, 120. Returns to the city through the recreation of Pauſanias, 122. [illegible] againſt Lamneſly, 125 His naval enterpriſes and death.

Thraſybulus encourages the revolt in the Athenian camp at Samos, againſt the tyranny of the four hundred, iii 27 Suffers a defeat at Ephеſus, 40. Regains his honour before the walls of Abydus, 41.

Thucydides, general remarks on his hiſtory of the Peloponneſian war, i 3. *Note.* His activity as Athenian commander of Thaſos, 299. Is baniſhed by the Athenians, 300

His character of Hyperbolus, iii *Note.* His youthful admiration of Herodotus, and his own character as an hiſtorian, 154 Compariſon between him and Herodotus, 156. His work continued by Xenophon, 158

Thyrea, the poſſeſſion of, conteſted by the Spartans and the Argives, i. 322

Tigris, contrivance for the paſſage of the Greeks under Xenophon over that river, iii. 215

Timagoras, the Athenian deputy at the court of Artaxerxes, ſecond the arguments of Pelopidas, the Theban deputy there, iii. 424 Is condemned to death, *ibid. Not.*

Timandra, the miſtreſs of Alcibiades, is ſpared by thoſe who put him to death, iii. 113

Timanthes, the Grecian painter, his great power of expreſſion, i. 493

Timoclea, a Theban matron, her heroiſm, iv. 251

Timoleon puts an end to the tyranny of Dionyſius the younger, in Syracuſe, iii. 176.

Tiſamenes, king of Lacedæmon, diſpoſſeſſed of his dominions by the Heraclidæ, i. 98. His death, *ibid.*

Tiſſaphernes, the Perſian general, is ſent by Darius Nothus to quell the revolt in Aſia Minor, iii. 5 Protects Alcibiades from the reſentment of Agis, king of Sparta, 15 Accuſes Cyrus of treaſon, 132. Concludes a truce with the Grecian army after the battle of Cunaxa, 179. His treachery, 203. Seizes the Grecian generals, 204 Is rewarded by Artaxerxes with the ſpoils of Cyrus, 242. Attacks the Æolian cities under the Spartan government, *ibid.* His treaty with Dercyllidas, 248 His treacherous negociations with Ageſilaus, 277 Is deceived by the military policy of Ageſilaus, 278 Is put to death by Artaxerxes, 262

Tithrauſtes, is employed by Artaxerxes to put Tiſſaphernes to death, and to ſucceed to his command in Lower Aſia, iii. 262 Is an embaſſy to Ageſilaus, 263 Corrupt bribing meaſures of the ſeveral Grecian ſtates, 265

Tragedy, Greek, the origin of, ii. 125. How diſtinguiſhed from comedy, 146.

Trebiſond, hoſpitable reception of the Greeks under Xenophon and Cheniſophus in that city, iii. 225 Its preſent ſtate deſcribed, from Tournefort, *ibid. Note.*

Trenches, battle of, between the Spartans and Mantineans, i. 189.

Troy, review of the Grecian armament ſent againſt that city, i. 37 The kingdom of, deſcribed, 38 Derivation of the names Troas and Ilion, 39 Cauſes of the Trojan war, 40 Is beſieged by the Greeks, 44 Is taken and deſtroyed, 45. Its ſubſequent hiſtory, *ibid.*

Truth, the love of, natural to man, iv. 434

Tymæus, the firſt hiſtorian who arranged his narrative according to the Olympiads, i. 4 *Note.*

Tyndareus, king of Sparta, adventures of his daughter Helen, i. 41.

Tyrant,

Tyrant, in Grecian hiſtory, the true import of the term explained, i. 299. *Note.*

Tyrants, thirty, eſtabliſhed over the city of Athens, after its reduction by Lyſander, iii. 100 Their rapacious and cruel conduct, 101. Are oppoſed by Thraſybulus, 113. They retire to Eleuſis, 115. Are defeated by Thraſybulus, 117 They are depoſed, 118.

Tyre, embaſſies from that city to Alexander the Great, iv. 292 Deſcription of the city, 293 The city beſieged by Alexander, 294. The inhabitants reduced, 301.

Tyrtæus, the Athenian poet, ſent to command the Spartans againſt the Meſſenians, in obedience to the oracle, i 184. Animates the Spartans to perſevere in the war, 188.

V

Vanity, perhaps the greateſt enemy to population, ii 13

Venus, encomium on the Cnidian ſtatue of, iii. 488.

Victors, at the Olympic games, their emulation and rewards, i 284

Virtue, the origin and nature of, according to Plato, iii 381.

Moral inquiry into, on the principles of the Peripatetics, iv. 424. How to be attained, 426 The hardeſt taſk of, 428. How eſtimated by the Stoics, 444

Ulyſſes, king of Ithaca, his embaſſy to Troy on behalf of Menelaus, i. 43

W

War, how carried on, during the heroic ages of Greece, i 79. Its laws, 81.

Warburton, Biſhop, his opinion of the neceſſity of the doctrine of a future ſtate to the ſupport of the Grecian governments, not juſtified by the Grecian writers, i. 56.

Weapons of war, thoſe generally uſed during the heroic ages of Greece, i. 80.

Women, their condition and rank during the heroic ages of Greece, i. 74 Their occupations and amuſements, 75. How treated by the laws of Lycurgus at Sparta, 141.

A general review of the rank they held, and their treatment, ii. 152.

Wreſtling, how practiſed in the ancient gymnaſtic exerciſes, i. 230.

Writers, the moſt ancient pointed out, i 3. *Note.*

Xantippé, the wife of Socrates, her final parting with him, iii. 139.

Xantippus, his proſecution, the cauſe of the death of Miltiades, i. 405. Is not deemed worthy to ſucceed him, 407. Defeats the Perſians at Mycale, 511.

Xenophon, his account of the operation of the laws of Lycurgus at Sparta, i. 133. His account of the Spartan art of war, 138 His account

account of the Perſian inſtitutions, 311 His account of the expedition of Cyrus into Upper Aſia, iii 185 Gives the moſt probable circumſtances of the death of Cyrus, 197. His reply to the imperious demands of Artaxerxes, 201 His addreſs to the Greeks, after the perfidious ſeizure of their generals by Tiſſaphernes, 209. Is elected one of their generals, 210 Memorable retreat of the Greeks from Aſia under his conduct, 211 Excites jealouſies among his troops, by propoſing to ſettle on the coaſt of the Euxine ſea, 231. Is veſted with the ſole command of the troops on the death of Chemiſophus, 233 Prevails on them not to plunder Byzantium, 234 His troops hired by Seuthes, a Thracian adventurer, 235 Conducts them afterward into the ſervice of Sparta, 243 Attends Ageſilaus in his war with Perſia, 266 His hiſtory ends with the battle of Mantinea, 363. *Not* His character as a writer, 497 How he was engaged in the expedition of Cyrus, 498. His ſubſequent military employments and retreat, 499. Is driven to Corinth, 500 His literary performances, 501

Xerxes, king of Perſia, his preparations for an invaſion of Greece, i 417 Amount of his forces, 418. His paſſage over the Hellſpont, 419 Cuts a canal through the iſthmus of Sinos, 421 His reflections on the review of his immenſe army, 424 Receives the ſubmiſſion of the Grecian commanders, 425 His march to the plains of Trachis, 434 His negociation with the Spartans, 437 His inquiry into their character, *ibid.* His aſtoniſhment at the repulſe of his troops at Thermopylæ, 449 The Greeks betrayed to him by Epialtes, *ibid.* His narrow eſcape when Leonidas ſurpriſed his camp 446 Battle of Thermopylæ, 447 He advances toward Attica, 460 Ravages the territory of Phocis, 461. His attempt on Delphi how fruſtrated, 463 Enters Attica, 471 How prevailed on to riſk the battle of Salamis, 475. Views the engagement from mount Ægialos, 476. His fleet defeated, 477 His diſgraceful retreat from Greece, 479. His power eſtabliſhed by the artifice of Themiſtocles, 482

Y

Youth, duties and employments of, at Athens, ii 10 to the exhortations of Solon, ii. 115.

Z

Zeno, account of his philoſophy, iv 432

Zeuxis, the Grecian painter, account of his principal works, iii 492

Zoroaſter, the founder of the Perſian religion, his principal doctrines, i 349.

THE END

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